

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

The USSR

Caught in the consequences of its own success. With photographs by Meg Gerkin. Pages 10-13.



Russian teenagers on a sightseeing boat on the Moscow River.

Photo by Gordon Quinn

Congress Doles out aid
to right-wing countries

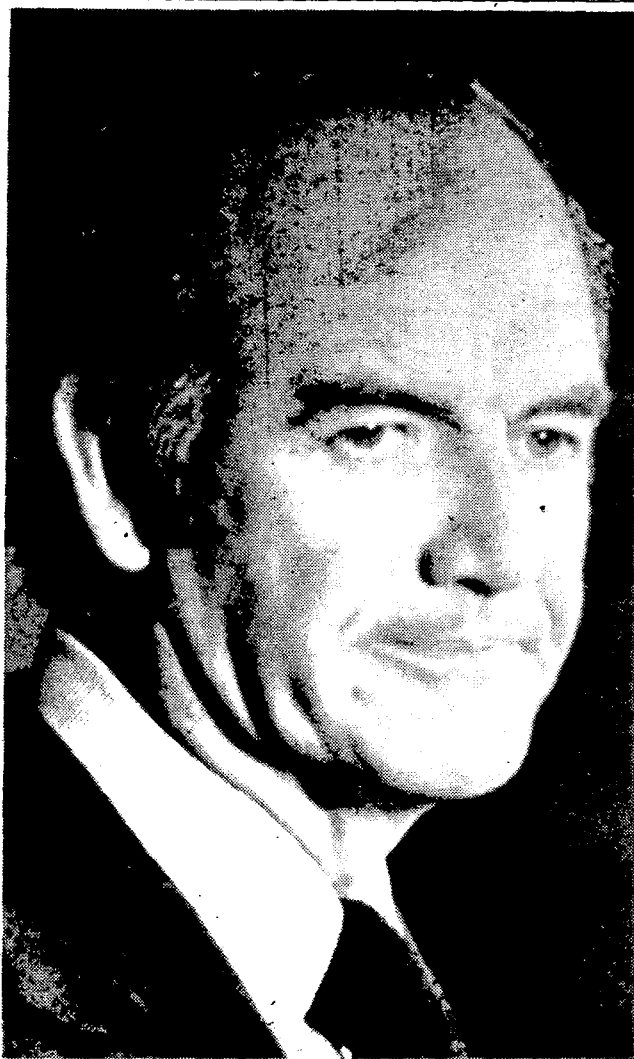
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Al Difranco

Democrats debate the party's future

"You can't live with these changes," Robert Strauss, who was then Democratic party chairman, told nominee Jimmy Carter at last year's presidential convention. "The liberals and the weirdos will use them to eat you alive."

Strauss was referring to two proposed changes in the Democratic party rules that were going to come to the floor as minority challenges. One would have required the Democratic National Convention to plan an issue-oriented midterm convention in 1978 with at least 2,000 delegates, most elected locally.

The other would have lowered from 25 to 15 percent the number of convention committee members required to present a minority report on the floor.

Robert Strauss had been brought in as Democratic party chairman after McGovern's defeat in 1972. As the candidate of the "moderates" and "pragmatists," Strauss was expected to keep unruly blacks, women and liberals in line and to suppress, wherever possible, the open discussion of policy differences within the party.

Strauss had managed to prevent open warfare at the 1974 midterm convention, but there was no telling what could happen in 1978, especially with a Democratic president. And Strauss had raised the percentage necessary for minority reports to prevent a repetition of what he saw as the destructive debates of the 1972 convention.

Delegates rebel.

At the convention, acting on Strauss' recommendation Carter sent Frank Mankiewicz to lobby extensively against the changes. "Look, this is what ruined us in 1972," Mankiewicz told Texas delegates. "If this goes through, the 1980 convention will be like that. The television networks will set our agenda. They'll focus on the bizarre stuff—homosexual rights, right-to-life."

Strauss and Carter also wanted the nature of the midterm convention left up to the Democratic National Committee. Most of all, they didn't want to be committed to any discussion of party policies in 1978.

But many delegates did not share Carter's or Strauss' fears. They wanted to continue the process of opening up the party that had begun after the 1968 convention.

The midterm convention originally found support

among antiwar Democrats who felt that a convention in 1966 might have forced Lyndon Johnson to reconsider his policies. Its supporters in 1976 also argued the need for a convention, separate from the nominating one, where policy could be discussed.

When the vote was taken on the two measures, Carter's lobbying efforts had failed. The midterm convention proposal won a majority and the proposal on minority resolutions lost narrowly.

Only an obscure rule that required a majority of those at the convention rather than those present to pass a minority report prevented the midterm convention resolution from being formally adopted. Since Strauss had scheduled the debate for Thursday afternoon, probably the worst time in the whole week, there was no chance that enough delegates would be present to provide the needed votes.

The great tent.

In the absence of any discussion of policy, the rules debate was the convention's only gesture toward reality. In revealing something of the divisions among the Democrats, it foreshadowed as nothing else did Carter's subsequent conflicts in Congress and on the Democratic National Committee.

The debate over the rules was also significant in itself. The Democratic party has increasingly become Lyndon Johnson's "great tent" in which all the major interests of American society are represented and vie for influence. Its rules have increasingly become the rules of politics in general.

When the Mississippi Freedom Democrats sought to be seated in 1964 in place of the regular Mississippi Democrats, it was not simply Democratic party politics that was at stake, but the right of minority representation in the political arena. When the Democratic rules committee, originally chaired by George McGovern, decreed that all convention delegates must be elected, rather than appointed and that they must be elected according to affirmative action criteria, it was a step forward for American democracy.

The midterm convention had similar significance. Potentially, it could provide a forum for popular interests to hold politicians accountable, and it could shape the Democratic party as a political rather than simply a nominating body. It could cut away some of the foliage that protects elected representatives from their electors.

Surprising flexibility.

When Carter took office he was expected to take firm control of the Democratic National Committee. In his December memorandum, Patrick Caddell, one of Carter's chief advisers, counselled him to "Carterize" the DNC and to make it a "political wing of the White House."

But Carter had seen the opposition at the Democratic convention and understood the divisions that underlay the surface unity of the party. He has therefore been surprisingly flexible when he has encountered resistance, and he has made an effort to put himself on the side of the party reformers.

Carter appointed former governor of Maine Kenneth Curtis as the new party chairman. One veteran observer of Democratic politics sharply contrasted Curtis with his predecessor Strauss: while Strauss was "rough, aggressive harddriving, and autocratic," Curtis is "open, easygoing, accessible, and democratic."

One of Curtis' first acts was to recommend nominees for 25 at-large positions in the Democratic National Committee to the party's Executive Committee. Instead of trying to create a previously agreed-upon list of 25, in the manner of Strauss, Curtis offered a list of 37 from which he invited the Executive Committee members to choose.

Women, blacks and liberal trade unionists were prominent on the list. Curtis recommended that 45 to 50 percent of those chosen be women. In the end, 12 of the 25 were. And 10 of the 25 were minority group members.

Policy vs. party-building.

But on the issue of the midterm convention, Carter and Curtis took their stand against the reformers. Through aide Fred Siegal, Carter proposed to Curtis a midterm convention that would be an expanded DNC meeting. That way, grass roots opposition would be absent, and the event itself would be of diminished significance.

The convention would be held before the November 1978 elections and would concentrate on "party-building" rather than on policy. Carter feared that after the predictable Democratic losses in 1978 (usually a president's party will lose votes in the midterm election), Carter would be open to "scapegoating" and administration opponents might be given "disproportionate publicity."

Detroit mayor Coleman Young and the United Auto Worker's Bruce Lee led the fight in the Executive Committee against the Carter recommendations. Lee proposed instead a 2,200 person convention to be held right after the 1978 elections.

At the June 10 Executive Board meeting, Carter compromised. He agreed to have the convention after the election. (Ironically, congressional leaders had warned him that a pre-election convention could be even more dangerous to the Democrats.)

He also backed a compromise proposal for a conference of 1626 delegates with 890 to be elected locally on the basis of man/woman pairs. Lee's counterproposal failed, and the compromise was accepted. Afterwards, Lee warned that by adopting the lower number the Democrats "would exclude the very people who are responsible for us being here."

The debate has not ended. The main issue is still to come: the agenda of the midterm convention. It is expected that this debate will begin when the Executive Committee reconvenes in August.

Robert Strauss and Frank Mankiewicz are quoted by Richard Reeves in Convention. Current Democratic party infighting is covered extensively in the Washington D.C. newsletter The Baron Report.

Voting reform in doubt

Jimmy Carter has believed that the estranged non-voter holds the key to future Democratic victories. To attract the non-voter, Carter proposed universal voting registration—a system that allows voters to register at the polls on election day. In states where it has been tried, universal registration has increased voter turnout, and in Wisconsin it is thought to have provided the margin for a Carter victory. (See "Inside Story," April 13.)

Fearful of bad publicity, Republican leaders and regular Democrats initially supported the Carter proposal. But having permitted doubts about possible voter fraud to wend their way into public debate, they have one-and-all declared their opposition. Republicans see a majority of present non-voters as potential Democrats, and regular Democrats, who have built solid support among existing constituencies, are fearful that new voters may upset their applecart.

To meet the public charges of possible voter fraud, Carter agreed to introduce rigorous anti-fraud provisions into the bill and to postpone its implementation to 1980, but since fraud is not the real issue, the Carter compromises will not change the bill's dim prospects for passage. Present estimates see only 160 of 289 House Democrats supporting it and no Republicans.

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Congress rebukes Carter

By Jan Austin
Internews

As a joint House/Senate committee marks this week to iron out a final foreign aid bill, congressional liberals find themselves increasingly on the defensive.

Last month congressional conservatives scored President Carter's human rights banner and carried it successfully into battle on several key foreign aid votes. Although some of the votes constituted a direct rebuff to Carter, enough mainstream Democrats supported them to give the conservatives a majority. The reason, say a number of sources: the White House simply did not lobby hard or effectively enough for its policies—either with Congress or with the public at large.

Liberals who have tried to win support for administration positions feel that the president has not clarified his policies or gotten out in front on controversial issues like Vietnam and Cuba. In the absence of strong White House leadership, many Democrats find it too risky to challenge the conservative's brand of human rights with anti-communism and anti-foreign aid sentiment. They do not want to expose themselves to conservative attack back home if they cannot even argue that they are carrying out the will of the president.

GOP victory whoops.

On June 29, the House passed a \$6.7 billion foreign aid appropriation bill—nearly \$1 billion less than requested by Carter. One included a last minute 5 percent slash in total foreign aid spending—which even its Republican sponsor Clarence Miller of Ohio did not expect to win. "Victory whoops vote from the Republicans," reported an Associated Press correspondent, "as their traditional effort to chop money bills across the board was approved for the first time in recent years."

During its final debate on the bill, the House also voted to cut direct or indirect aid to seven countries—Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Mozambique and Uganda. The purpose of the move was to bar American funds given to international financial institutions like the World Bank from reaching the seven countries.

Administration officials warn that the House action threatens American participation in the multilateral lending institutions, because it runs counter to most of their charters, which generally prohibit the earmarking of funds. Carter opposed the amendment, but after the vote Democratic whip John Andemas (D-IN) publicly criticized the administration for not doing more to sell its position. Now the White House says it will try to persuade the Senate to reverse the House action.

If sustained, the House vote would also further cripple negotiations with Vietnam over normalizing relations. The Vietnamese government insists that as part of normalization the U.S. must make some gesture toward "healing the wounds of war" in Vietnam. Both the administration and Congress have already ruled out the use of direct funds for this purpose. The only alternative for breaking the deadlock between Washington and Hanoi seems to be American support for aid to Vietnam through the international financial institutions.

The White House won on two votes in the House where Carter's position coincided with that of the conservatives. The House rejected a proposal by Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) to reduce foreign aid to South Korea to the levels approved for the current fiscal year. And it restored \$3.1 million in military credit sales to Nicaragua—funds that had been cut by the House Appropriations Committee after two days of hearings that produced detailed evidence of torture and mistreatment of political prisoners in Nicaragua.

Strangely enough, the White House lobbied very hard to restore the Nicaragua funds, while it was doing little or nothing

to stop the barring of indirect aid to Vietnam, Cuba and Mozambique. The Nicaragua vote astonished human rights lobbyists in Washington who say they still do not know why it happened.

Senate setbacks.

A week before the House votes, the Senate passed an amendment by Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS) that orders American representatives in the international financial institutions to vote against any loans to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and provides that if such loans are made, the U.S. will reduce its funding for the given institutions by an equal amount. Dole used all the liberal's arguments, telling the Senate that his objective was "to promote the cause of human rights," and that his amendment would allow Congress to "maintain better control over U.S. contributions to international lending institutions."

The administration opposed the Dole amendment, but as one lobbyist said, "They did not twist arms the way they do when it's something really important." Another human rights lobbyist said the administration was overconfident and did not really think that the Dole amendment could "pick up steam."

As a result, the White House now finds itself trying to get the Dole amendment altered in the House/Senate conference committee. Human rights groups are also urging that letters be written to Congress seeking the dropping of the Dole amendment language.

Two days after its defeat on the Dole amendment, the administration was saved from embarrassing votes in the Senate on Korea and Cuba only by quick maneuvering from majority leader Robert Byrd (D-WV). A resolution urging a partial lifting of the blockade of Cuba was withdrawn

by Sen. George McGovern to avoid defeat on the floor.

Byrd then succeeded in defeating an amendment by Sen. Dole expressing the sense of the Congress that there should not be even a partial lifting of the embargo until Cuba has taken a number of steps including withdrawing troops and advisers from the African continent and compensating American property appropriated in 1959.

On Korea, the Senate agreed to drop language expressing support for Carter's troop withdrawal plan—a compromise that prevented outright Senate repudiation of the president's withdrawal policy. Instead, the Senate urged that policy decisions on Korea be made jointly by the President and Congress.

Right-wing strength.

As a result of the recent conservative successes in Congress, some observers now believe that the right wing has captured the human rights issue. Others, like Brewster Rhoads of the Washington-based Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which has coordinated much of the human rights lobbying effort, reject that view.

Rhoads acknowledges that the right has succeeded in using the human rights issue to block assistance to socialist countries, but he believes Congress is still open to reducing or cutting off aid, especially military aid, to repressive regimes. He cites successes on Argentina and the Philippines.

Military aid to Argentina has been the focus of an extensive lobbying effort by the Argentine Commission on Human Rights, which succeeded in winning a House vote to cut \$700,000 from military training to Argentina this year. In addition, the House and Senate have agreed

that commercial cash and credit military sales to Argentina should be cut off by fiscal year 1979. The House has also voted to cut \$6.2 million from military aid to the Philippines.

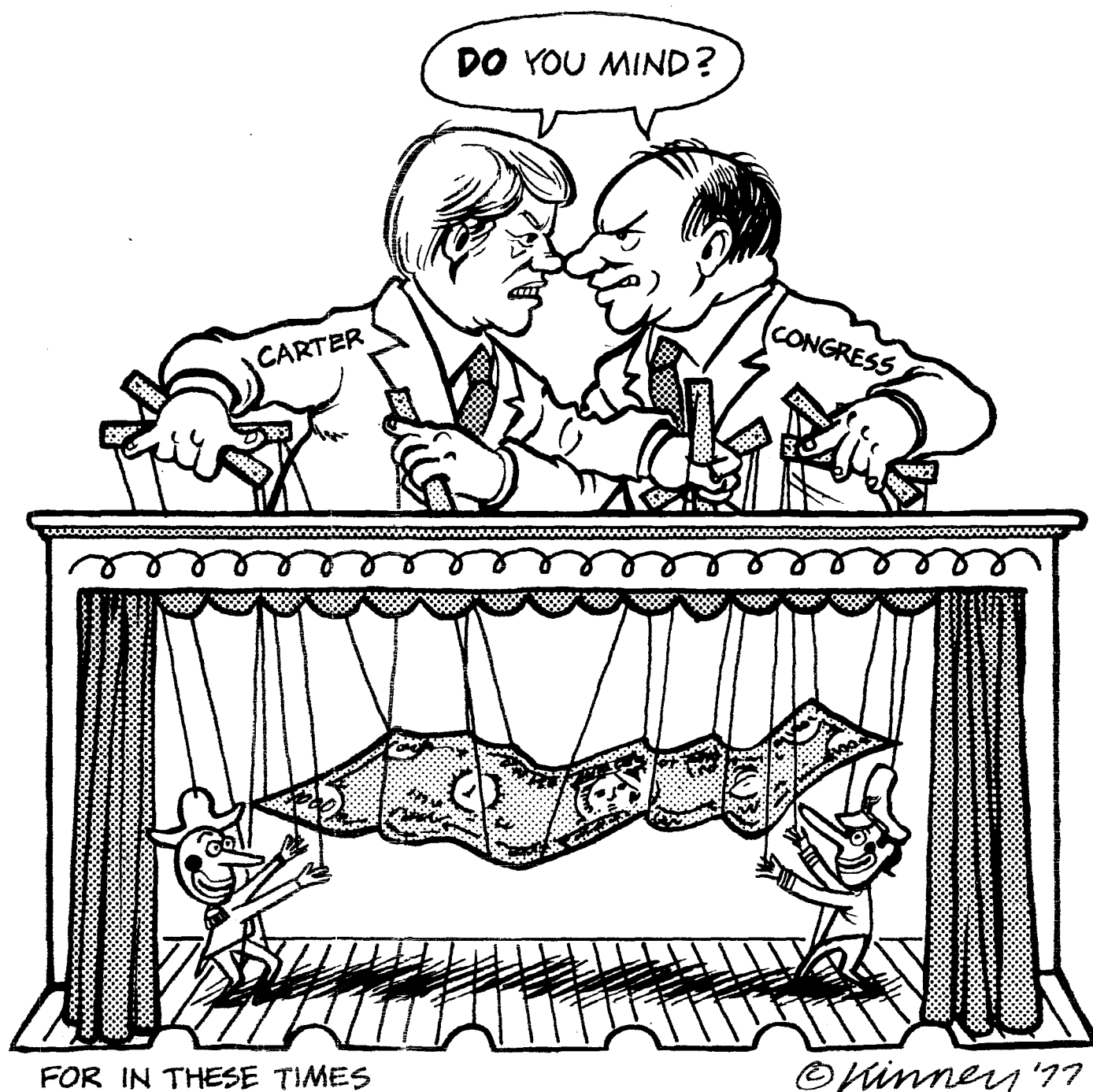
Don't do homework.

Why has the administration failed to lobby more effectively for its foreign policy aims? Some observers stress the Carter team's lack of experience in or with the Congress. It is commonly said that Carter aides are not careful or consistent in their approach. Often they appear not to anticipate what Congress will do. "They don't do their homework," commented one Senate aide.

In addition, there appears to be considerable disarray within the administration over exactly how human rights relate to specific foreign policy questions. It is thought that one reason the State department failed to move quickly to counter the Dole amendment was its lack of a clear position on the relationship between Vietnam and Carter human rights policy.

The State department also apparently sent contradictory signals on the question of aid to Nicaragua. Rep. Edward Koch (D-NY), who worked hard to cut off the military funds, says he had verbal assurances from State department officials that they were not concerned with restoring the aid. Yet Assistant Secretary of State Terence Todman sent out a letter the day before the House debate strongly urging that the aid cuts be restored.

Whatever the reason, it seems clear that unless the Carter administration begins arguing forcefully—both in Congress and with the public—for its foreign policy aims, it stands to lose more votes in the Congress. One of the next casualties could be a Panama Canal treaty which is expected to reach Congress in the fall.



Congressional conservatives used Carter's human rights campaign to deny aid to the socialist countries.

BLACKS

NAACP's Wilkins bows out

This year's NAACP convention that just ended in St. Louis contained more hoopla and got more press coverage than any NAACP national confab has in decades. The occasion this time was the exodus—albeit a forced retirement—of the “grand old man” Roy Wilkins as executive secretary.

After years of speculation over what he would do—or be compelled to do—Wilkins stubbornly wrung one concession out of his board: If he was to be kicked into forcible retirement, he wanted to go out in grand style in St. Louis, his home town. The board consented.

Wilkins played out his role like the old civil rights pro he is. The night of June 28 he was the object of almost four hours of teary praise from civil rights veterans and even President Carter. Afterwards, Wilkins himself made an emotion-charged speech in which he pledged continued fidelity to the cause, and took a parting shot at his detractors inside the Association, particularly some of the more powerful staff members.

The organist blared; the overflow crowd stomped, cried and cheered. And Roy Wilkins was gone. Officially, his resignation becomes effective Aug. 1. But for all practical or political purposes, Benjamin Hooks is now NAACP executive secretary. After years of internal struggle, a majority of board members (and probably the rank and file also) had triumphed. The most obstinate symbol of the NAACP's old guard had been displaced by a younger man, not handicapped by an image as a slow, plodding civil rights traditionalist.

Wilkins had been with the NAACP since 1931. He served as executive secretary 22 years, and had been constantly under fire from critics inside and outside the association who wanted the NAACP to adopt new strategies and tactics to fit the changing times. Always, he and his old guard allies resisted, labeling the critics as

militants or misinformed idiots who couldn't appreciate the NAACP's impressive history of civil rights struggle.

The NAACP is the oldest and largest of the civil rights organizations. For a long time—until the coming of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957—it was the only national organization that fought for civil rights for black people. The National Urban League was founded in 1909—the same year as the NAACP—but it's regarded as a social service, rather than civil rights organization, though the missions of the two sometimes overlap.

What will Hooks do?

How much of a difference will Hooks make to the NAACP? Was his selection a victory for the “militants?” It's difficult to tell at this point what Hooks' direction will be. Surely, he'll be no carbon-copy Roy Wilkins, but neither will he be a firebrand radical. At the close of the convention Hooks made a slam-bang speech reaffirming his support for the approach that brought the NAACP to where it is today: court suits, pursuing racial integration wherever possible, direct action and quiet persuasion.

This was no revolutionary manifesto, but a changing of the traditional liberal guard. Hooks will probably make more of a difference in style than in substance.

He is a Memphis Baptist minister, a lawyer and banker, whom Richard Nixon named the first black commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission in 1972. His sponsor for that job was Howard Baker, a Tennessee conservative whose standing among the Republican moderates shot up dramatically with his activity on the Senate Watergate Committee.

Ben Hooks is no black conservative or Uncle Tom, but a civil rights liberal who, in many ways, is an ideal choice to succeed Wilkins. He is tremendously popular

nationally as a speaker to church, civic, fraternal and social organizations—the bedrock support of the NAACP. On the FCC he worked consistently to get more blacks and minorities into broadcasting and to improve the quality of programming. But Hooks is the first to admit that basic structural or program changes in broadcasting and television will never be brought on by the FCC.

During a conversation with this writer following our joint appearance on the

The new head, Benjamin Hooks, will probably make more of a difference in style than in substance.

MacNeil-Lehrer Report, Hooks bragged that the NAACP had outlasted all of its critics on the left, and was still the champion civil rights organization. This could be interpreted as vindication of the NAACP's past course, or as a sign of structural debilitating weakness within the black liberation struggle. The militancy of the 1960s is gone; so is the thrust from the black left on the campuses and in

Continued on page 5.



Roy Wilkins, retiring NAACP head.

Exposing the internal workings of the police department can be a risky proposition, five respected criminologists in California are finding out.

The five—Dr. Richard R. Korn, executive director of the Center for the Study of Criminal Justice, Berkeley; retired police lieutenant Dante Andreotti, founding director of the San Francisco Police Department's Community Relations Division; professor John Webster, a former police chief and recently a consultant of the California State Office of Criminal Justice Planning; and Dr. James Robinson, director of Social Issues Research Associates, Berkeley—are being sued for more than a half million dollars by one-time Los Angeles Police Department Narcotics Squad head Commander Joe Gunn.

The suit stems from the fact that on March 11, 1976, the five criminologists distributed a transcript of an April 1974 speech given by Gunn to police officials attending an annual meeting of the California Narcotics Information Network (CNIN). In his speech Gunn candidly described the coerced recruitment of drug suspects and parolees as police informers.

Gunn maintains that the speech was made at “a closed meeting of a private association,” and that no one had the right to infringe upon his privacy and distribute it.

The five defendants argue that the CNIN is not a private association, but an arm of California government, supported by public funds and that Gunn's controversial remarks were recorded openly on video tape by an authorized camera crew for the purpose of using the speech for a police training film. They assert they had a legitimate right to the transcript of the speech.

Gunn's speech, entitled “Management, Control and Utilization of Informants,” is nothing if not candid. In it he is reported to have said:

CRIME

Exposed narc sues five criminologists

They expose forced recruitment of drug suspects and parolees as informers.

• **On Pressuring Suspects:** “...When you have your spurs into a guy, this is when you really get the good trade-off. You would be remiss if you didn't get at least three good cases. If the guy doesn't want to do it, what's his option? State prison. And then you ought to actively make sure that he goes to state prison, if that's the kind of guy he is. If you got your hooks into him good, though, if it's a good sales case to an officer, don't let him off the hook by conning you into an easy trade.”

“Another thing—don't let attorneys come into the [deal] meeting. I had one guy show up one time with his attorney and say, ‘I brought my attorney with me. We want to set up the deal.’ What is that? You're sitting down to negotiate for a new house or something? Attorneys are out. This is something between you and the informant and I don't want to get tied down with a bunch of legal jingle-jangle. Keep your hooks into him and don't let him off.”

“...I don't like to see a guy get off scott free on a good case. If anything, he's going to plead to something. If it was a good sales case, then we're going to cop him out to a good possession case and where you make the deal is on the sentence. There's

no jail time, but you put the probation on him and, if you can, you put the terms of probation in there. Keep in mind—two years from now this guy may not be working for you anymore.”

• **On Informants Who Continue to Deal in Drugs:** “You have to emphasize to an informant that as long as he works for you he can no longer deal. Now you know that's a bunch of bull, and I know that's a bunch of bull because he's going to deal—that's the way he makes his living. That's not important, though. The important thing is that you put your agency on record as telling this guy that he does not get immunity just because he happens to be an informant and if someone comes along and wants to bust him, more power to them. I'm a firm believer that a good informant goes to jail once every two years anyway—it makes them better informants.”

“Now, I would not expect the individual officers to arrest their own informants. I would tell someone else to do it. But what's wrong with putting them in jail? It spurs them on to greater heights!”

• **On Withholding Information to Judges:** “...You don't mention it on any reports

and I think when you deal with informants it's the same as when you go to court now and the judge demands that you reveal the informant. What's your option? Your option is say, ‘No,’ and they dismiss the case. It's as simple as that. I made my decision personally—having a cabinet with about three hundred informant packages—that there was no way I was going to surrender that to a court. I'm not going to be responsible for that many executions.”

The five defendants believe that Gunn's views, attitudes and practices accurately reflect the attitudes and practices of the L.A.P.D. and its head, Chief Ed Davis. All five believe that only when society decriminalizes narcotic drug use will solutions be found for dealing with the problem of rampant drug abuse.

Two groups who share unflinching opposition to this view are the organized police establishment and the Mafia, says Korn. People must become aware, he says, that profits flowing into the coffers of organized criminals provide an almost inexhaustible fund for the corruption of government. Most vulnerable of all have been the police officers—especially “vice” and “narcotics” police squads.

By calling public attention to police practices, the criminologists hope that the narcotics squad modus operandi will be seriously examined and discontinued. They say they are not interested in stopping the cops from doing their work. “We want to stop them from following practices that encourage the very crimes they say they want to clean up,” says Korn.

“The whole point of the matter,” he continues, “is that we have no motives other than the good of the community. If the police share our goals then there is no reason why they should not be open about their practices.”

Steve Connolly is a California freelance journalist.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Carter energy plan: higher prices key

WASHINGTON By Bethany Weidner When James Schlesinger came to the Senate in May to defend President Carter's energy package he began with a bold flourish from Winston Churchill: "Make no small plans. They have an auspice to stir the souls of men." To follow that with a description of the administrative trivia that goes by the name of an energy policy these days must have taxed even Mr. Schlesinger's powers to inflame appearances.

Then, and the very unmagical processes of Congress have revealed the Carter plan to be an arbitrary collection of proposals hanging from the same thread that hung President Ford's energy policy—higher prices.

Unhappily, however, the fact that Ford was a Republican with a Democratic Congress was what hung the Ford policy—not its contents. The party label, while not a guarantee of success, does give Carter the edge over his predecessor.

When it comes right down to it, however, there is relatively little that Congress can do about the thrust of federal energy policy. Carter's package does little more than embellish policies that are already in place. It presents few new directions. Congressional actions will affect individual situations, but they will not change the basic thrust. Even if Congress were to scuttle the whole thing, existing funding and authorization permit the adoption of the main outlines of the plan.

Raising the price.

The cornerstone of the Carter plan is the raising of the price of existing fuels to the highest replacement cost—in this case that of imported oil. The catch is that this price has nothing to do with production costs, either in the Middle East or in the U.S.

Over the next 10 or 20 years high energy prices will protect the profits of the energy companies as they deplete their cheap reserves. They can thus market their very high cost oil and gas alongside older, cheaper production, making a tidy profit on both.

At the same time, the "replacement" price concept serves as a floor to enable the big conglomerates to develop capital intensive alternatives like transforming coal into gas or intensified oil extraction—that would otherwise be far too costly to compete with existing oil and gas companies. (As if the high prices weren't enough, the companies benefit from direct federal subsidies for research and development from the Energy Research and Development Administration—some \$500 million for coal-related research alone in Fiscal Year 77, not to mention another \$2 billion in continued subsidies for nuclear research, demonstration and development.)

Using the ability to pay high prices as the means to determine who gets how much energy also ensures that those corporations who can easiest afford to pay higher prices will be the most secure in their supply, reducing possible dangers from future "shortages."

Conservation not addressed.

The conservation components of the Pres-

ident's plan which both left and right have been at such great pains to applaud, are not substantial. These proposals would merely ease immediate tight supply situations in the same way that a fat man starves on the day of a big event in order to ease the belt on his good trousers without losing weight. It takes the edge off the pressure for real change.

Assessments by at least three legislative agencies indicate that Carter overestimated—by a million barrels of oil per day—the saving associated with his initiatives in insulation, solar equipment, tax credits to industry, and penalties for gas guzzlers. Current consumption is the equivalent of 30 million barrels per day.

More to the point, however, the waste Carter has targeted represents negligible overflow from the way we do things. Real waste in areas like fertilizer-intensive agriculture, petrochemical production, packaging, planned obsolescence is not addressed.

The Carter package, in the form of the Energy Bill, has been referred to seven committees in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate. The House's tight timetable calls for final action before the summer recess begins on August 5.

The Senate Energy Committee intends to consider the sections on natural gas pricing, conservation measures and substitution of coal for oil and gas over the next month. But the Senate Finance committee must wait to begin its deliberations until the House sends over the taxation portions of the bill, which will make it at least October before final passage of the bill would occur.

If the actions of the House committees so far are any guide, natural gas prices will be higher than the President proposed, taxes on crude oil produced in this country will remain, and the tax on gas guzzling cars will exist in name only. (Ways and Means committee members compromised on a definition that leaves only the Chrysler Imperial in the guzzler category.)

The complex schedule of taxes that Carter hoped would motivate companies to switch to coal or install more efficient equipment has been watered down. Tax credits for homeowners who install insulation, solar equipment or other conservation measures have been criticized as ineffective, but have been retained.

Confrontations to come over bill.

Major confrontations could still occur over whether to achieve higher prices through stiff taxation (as the President proposes), or to do so by ending federal regulation and allowing all oil and gas prices to rise to the level set by OPEC.

The President proposed to retain the regulation of natural gas and oil, but on a new basis unrelated to costs of production. He would also have given his new energy secretary power to set the price of gas and oil on a "political" basis at his own discretion.

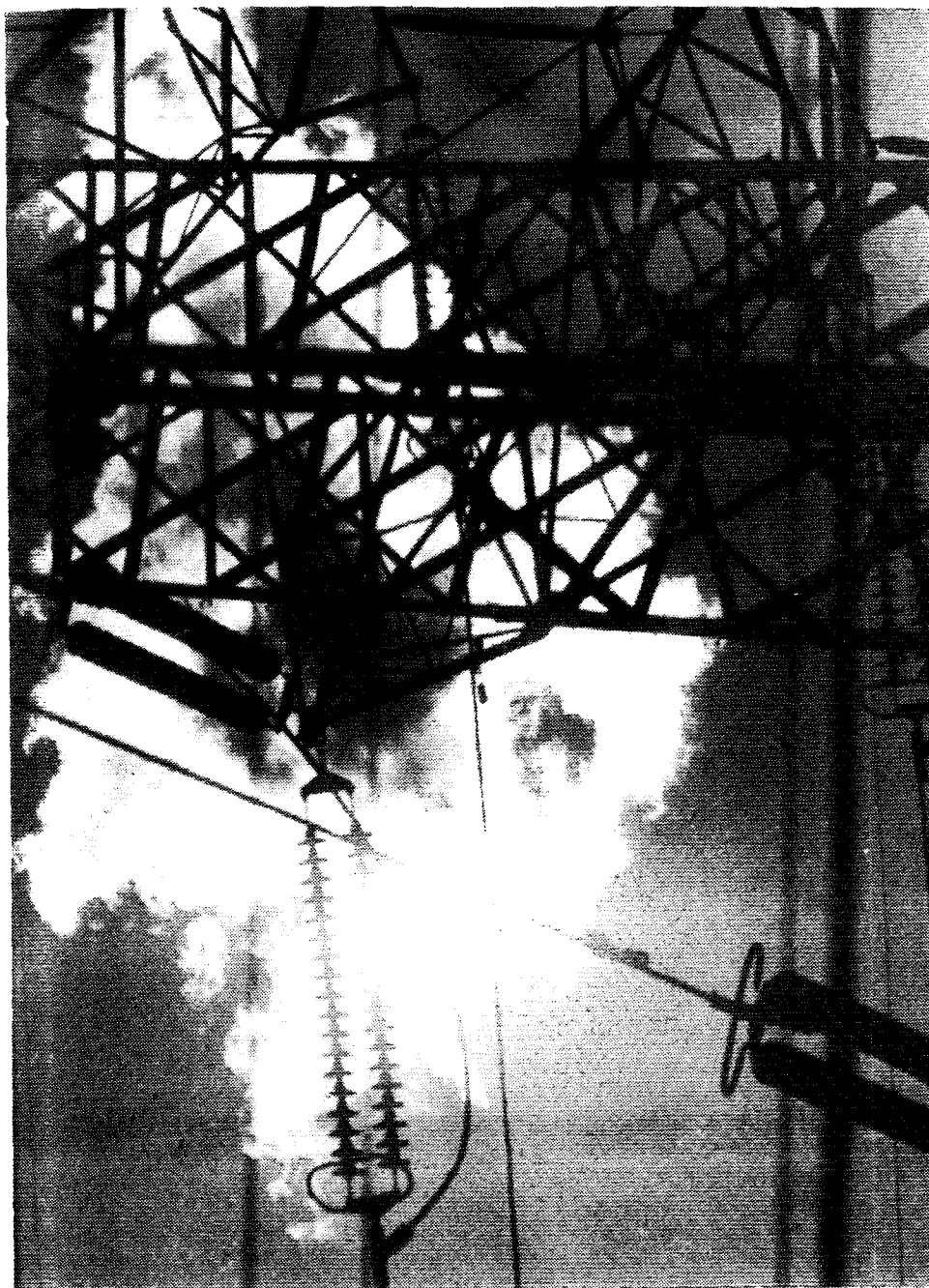
Congress modified this power when it passed the Department of Energy bill last May, but Carter has been lobbying to get it back when the two Houses meet to re-

NAACP's major thrust.

The major priority of the NAACP has been pursuing school desegregation through slow, grinding litigation. But under the Burger court, this will meet with even more limited success. And, even if achieved, the NAACP and its allies are hard put to demonstrate the long term value of "statistical-formula" desegregation in which a judge orders the percentage of white and black students to attend a school.

Further, whatever the outcome and value of pursuing desegregation, the vast majority of black school children in cities, towns and villages across the country will never be touched because they will always attend predominantly or all-black schools.

Carter's package does little more than embellish policies that are already in place. Even if Congress were to scuttle the whole thing, existing funding and authorization permit the adoption of the main outlines of the plan.



Jane Melnick

concile differences in conference.

For oil the major question will be whether to retain taxes on crude oil now selling for three different prices—\$5.25, \$11.28 and about \$13.50. Carter proposed an ascending tax to equalize these prices at the OPEC level, so refiners would all pay the same price for their crude oil, no matter where it came from. But the energy companies would rather not have a tax and get the money from higher prices themselves.

The Senate Finance committee, which will decide this, works under the guidance of Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, a gentleman with a long-standing (and high-yielding) interest in the oil business.

A proposal to allow companies to keep some of the tax they collect (it would amount to at least \$8 on a barrel of \$5.25 oil) if they use it for further exploration was defeated in the House Ways and Means committee, and an amendment by Andrew Jacobs (D-IN) to use the revenues to pay off part of the national debt was adopted in its stead.

Already policy.

But the major lines of the energy policy will remain the same—even if Congress were to take the unlikely step of rejecting

the Carter plan in its entirety.

Prices for oil would increase by virtue of existing legislation, and decontrol could occur, by law, in April of 1979.

Natural gas prices went from \$.56 to \$1.44 last year, and the Federal Power Commission is working on a higher price at this very moment. The Department of Transportation is preparing new standards for auto "fleet" efficiency for 1980.

The recently created Department of Energy puts the authority for pricing oil and gas into the hands of the Secretary of Energy—and he will no longer need legislation to establish prices in fulfillment of his policy aims.

The Energy Research and Development Administration budget contains \$4 billion for this year alone, and most of it goes to fossil fuel research and development, research into methods of getting more oil from old reservoirs, and nuclear power (\$2 billion). \$161 million is devoted to conservation, and a total of \$345 million to solar and geothermal research. The rest is for traditional fuels and nuclear fission and fusion.

Bethany Weidner is a legislative assistant to Sen. James Abourezk (D-SD) specializing in energy matters.

This leaves the vast majority untouched by the NAACP's major thrust—now and in the future.

So are the major problems of black people untouched by the preeminent civil rights organization. The NAACP has never seriously addressed the problems of prison conditions or of young blacks struggling for existence and dignity once they get out of the "joint." As serious and structural as the problem of high unemployment is among young blacks, 16-21, the NAACP and its allies have no program except to advocate passage of the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill.

The liberation struggle needs more than

a reformed NAACP. It needs energizing forces that will look and act beyond its limited vision. New energy will probably come from some of the black elected officials who are growing in numbers—if not always in power. What the struggle needs is a "dual thrust"—from the liberals who are comfortable within the NAACP or Urban League, and from progressives and socialists determined to push further and harder for more basic change. At the moment, there is only discernible national action by the liberals.

Being alone among national civil rights organizations is a source of Ben Hooks' delight. For the rest of us, it should be taken as a warning.

NAACP

Continued from page 4.

the cities. Indeed, there is ominous quiet all along the left.

In the absence of a challenge from the left, the NAACP fills the void, and then prohibits its prominence because it is all that remains of the old alliances of the 1960s. NAACP went out of business years ago; CORE is barely a shell of its old self; the SCLC is hanging on, though only in a few cities in the South and one or two in the North.

THE LAW

Wide support for heroin program

By Mark Shwartz
Pacific News Service

SAN FRANCISCO—Legitimize heroin? Pass it out free?

Outrageous ideas. Or so it seemed to most of the nation's police and narcotics policy makers.

But now, after 50 years of strict heroin prohibition and an estimated addict population of a half million, a growing number of American doctors, judges and even some police are proposing establishment of "heroin maintenance centers" as a technique for cracking the cycle of drug addiction and crime.

Support for such experimental clinics has come from Consumer's Union, the National League of Cities, the Drug Abuse Council and committees of the National District Attorney's Association and the American Bar Association.

Heroin maintenance, which is the cornerstone of drug control policy in Britain, has caught the attention of policy makers for several reasons:

- sharply escalating urban crime rates including theft and personal violence;
- dramatic increases in the use of narcotics since the mid-1960s, coupled with failure in traditional enforcement and treatment programs;
- the relative success of the British system; and
- the record of corrupt and illegal practices by both local and federal narcotics agencies.

Dr. Peter Bourne, President Carter's special assistant on drug abuse, has opened the door to heroin maintenance projects. Speaking in San Francisco at the annual conference of the Ford Foundation's Drug Abuse Council, Bourne declared such proposals "will get the same kind of consideration as any other scientific proposal."

Bourne's statement also opened the door to a storm of controversy from the top of America's drug control establishment all the way down to neighborhood

Gary's Richard Hatcher argues that "there already is a heroin maintenance program—and it's being operated by the underworld as opposed to the government."

treatment clinics in such cities as New York, Detroit and Oakland.

Underworld maintenance program.

Richard Hatcher, the black mayor of Gary, Ind., is one of the leading proponents of heroin maintenance experiments. Last year he chaired the National League of Cities committee that endorsed such experiments.

"Look, we've spent \$3 billion a year on drug abuse and what we have to show for it is a half million addicts and maybe two million users," Hatcher argues. "In effect there already is a heroin maintenance program—and it's being operated by the underworld as opposed to the government."

"The only way to find out if heroin maintenance would help," he says, "is by trying tightly controlled small experiments."

Even more outspoken is San Francisco Superior Court Judge Francis McCarty, an 18-year veteran of the bench. "We have between 7,500 and 20,000 heroin users in this city," McCarty says.

"We figure, conservatively, that at least 60 percent of the criminal calendar is drug related. Heroin maintenance would knock out 90 percent of the black market, especially if high quality heroin were available."

The sort of program McCarty favors

would first legalize heroin, then administer it in government-controlled clinics to registered addicts free or at a few cents a dose, thereby undercutting the profit in black market heroin.

Although there have been no heroin maintenance clinics in America since the 1920s, the federal government did institute controversial methadone maintenance projects of the late 1960s.

In 1969 the federal government spent \$46 million on methadone and other drug treatment programs. By 1976 the budget had increased ten-fold.

It is partially because methadone maintenance has had so little impact on drug addiction, however, that a strong opposition has emerged against any legalized heroin projects.

Community opposition.

Surprisingly, some of the staunchest resistance has come not from local police—where it might be expected—but instead from community groups and drug counseling programs.

"A band-aid solution" designed to "pacify people" is how Amos Henix, founder of New York's Reality House detoxification project described the new proposals. An ex-addict himself, Henix adamantly opposes any scheme to provide heroin to junkies. And, he says, his neighbors in Harlem are just as determined.

"If I can believe what I've been told, the people are going to blow them up if the government tries to put any clinics here. The people have had it as far as these band-aid solutions are concerned. If they think they're going to put one in our community, they better think again."

Nancy Jo Albers, who works in Oakland, Calif., as the Alameda County Drug Co-ordinator, believes "setting up a heroin maintenance program would be one of the deadliest things that could happen." Albers, whose background is in local community work, insists that "the government should not be involved in narcotizing the public."

A committee of the Michigan legislature is holding hearings this month on a bill proposing establishment of a state-run experimental maintenance program.

Detroit's Recorder's Court Judge Justin Ravitz, who made his reputation working with militant black union organizers in the late '60s, regards the proposed system as a clever maneuver to "cool out the cities."

"It seems to me that in Detroit and other big cities we're reaching the point where community impatience over jobs and basic social problems might not be held back any longer. Heroin maintenance, on the other hand, is part and parcel of the whole repressive approach to urban problems in America. Those who call for more cops, bigger prisons, stiffer sentences, even death penalties are really in bed with the people who propose heroin maintenance."

"We would be forfeiting the struggle over the real issues if we paralyze half a

million people with heroin and accept the government as pusher," Ravitz maintains.

Fear of crime behind push.

Gary's Mayor Hatcher admits that the major reason the National League of Cities endorsed heroin maintenance projects is that "they were convinced it could help control crime"—a concern expressed most loudly not in the ghetto but in the middle class and commercial districts of the cities.

"Sure, at some point we've got to quit kidding ourselves," he said. "Of course people don't use drugs just because they like them. Eventually we've got to ask what kind of society is this that produces a half million addicts. But I can't be as cavalier as Judge Ravitz about the crime problem right now."

Frustration with the mounting crime problem was the key to a San Diego County grand jury's recommendation last August to establish a network of county-run clinics for free heroin distribution to registered addicts.

The San Diego grand jury denounced expansion of the county's \$8 million methadone detoxification program as "a contemptuous and unnecessary expenditure of public funds."

Crime control is central to the new federal interest in legalized heroin maintenance. Wesley Pomeroy, who left the Berkeley police department to join Peter Bourne as associate director of the White House Drug Abuse Policy office, wants police out of drug control completely. Declaring a drug illegal, he argues, only drives up the price on the black market.

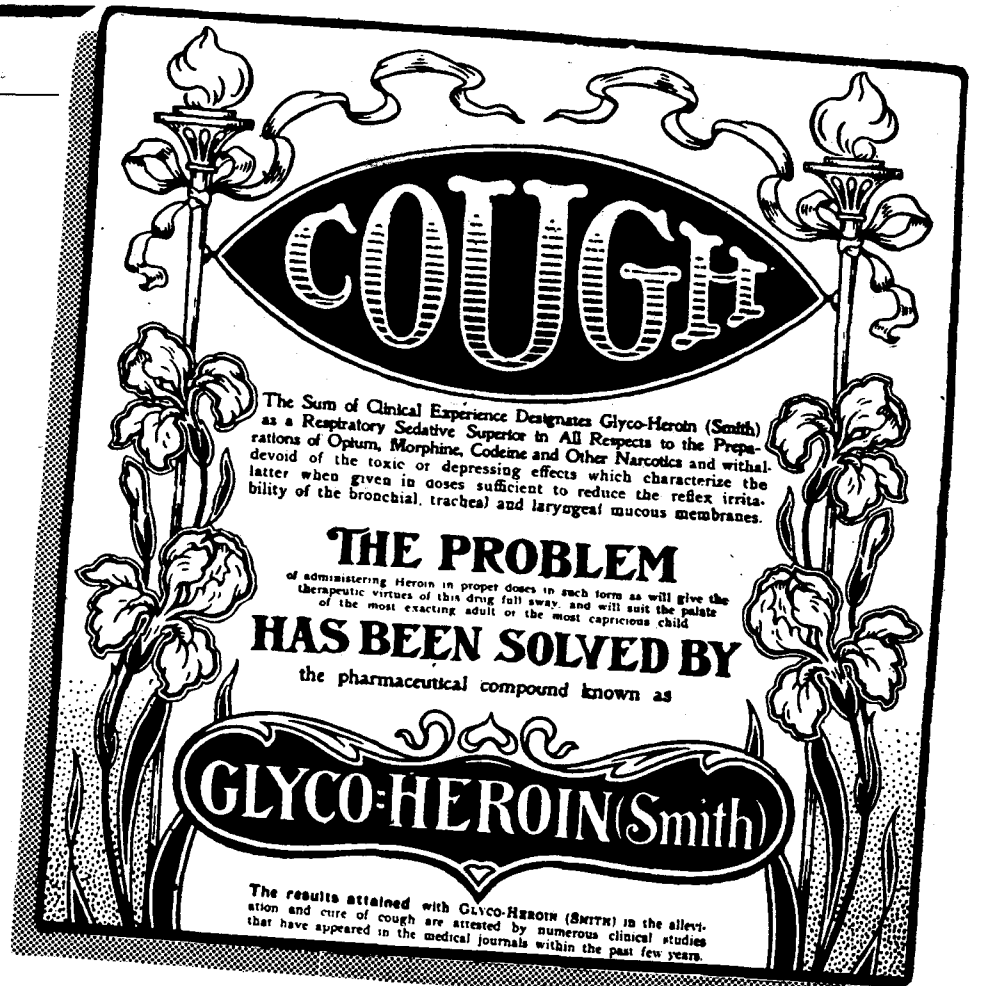
Pomeroy's argument flies in the face of most law enforcement sentiment. Peter Bensinger, director of the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration, believes legalization experiments would only increase the demand for drugs and give the "wrong signal to the American people."

California Attorney General Evelle Younger declared recently that heroin maintenance "would be a disaster in the U.S." And Los Angeles police chief Ed Davis dismisses it as "just like giving booze to an alcoholic." Both Davis and Younger are Republican candidates for governor.

So far, however, the momentum appears to lie with some form of heroin maintenance, and the bets among Washington policy makers are that initial experiments will begin within the next two years.

"The opponents say heroin maintenance won't work," sighs San Francisco's Judge McCarty. "They say it won't stop the black market, that it won't stop addiction. Well, I don't like negative thinking. Try it! If after two or three years it doesn't work, we'll make modifications. But we just can't sit back and do nothing with the intolerable situation we're in now."

Mark Schwartz is a free lance writer and former radio and TV reporter specializing in criminal justice issues.



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LABOR

Miller may lose grip on Miners' union

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

Although Arnold Miller pulled together a plurality of votes to win reelection as president of the United Mine Workers union (UMW), his headaches have just begun. Miller, in his second five-year term, will face a string of problems that threaten to strangle his once-mighty union: internal divisions, wildcat strikes and organizing the budding coal fields of the western states.

A month after the June 13 election, his victory is in serious doubt. Both Harry Patrick and Lon Roy Patterson, Miller's challengers who together garnered 60 percent of the total vote, have demanded another election.

Patterson charges that he and his running mates occupied unfavorable positions on the ballot since they were denied status as a full slate. Patrick, on the other hand, says that the election was "poisoned" because the Miller administration waited until after the balloting to announce a pre-election decision to cut members' health benefits. Patrick has not filed a formal protest, but he expects an election rerun.

The benefit cut sparked a series of wildcat strikes that have idled 31,000 miners in five states. Miller's handling of the affair has further solidified his well-worn image in the eyes of rank-and-file miners. (See accompanying story.)

Election results

According to the international tellers, Miller received 55,236 votes, about 40 percent of the total. Only 49 percent of the 277,000 eligible union members went to the polls, a lower turnout than in 1972.

The election results, according to an analysis by *Coal Patrol* when about 70 percent of the locals had reported, indicate that Miller has minimal support among the rank and file and on the International Executive Board. Three out of every five miners voted against him. After district elections, the board is still stacked against Miller by a one or two vote majority.

"The last three weeks of the campaign were all Harry Patrick's," declares *Coal Patrol*. Patrick nearly doubled his support in that period, winning 25 percent of the final tally. He did especially well among young miners, attracting about 39 percent of the vote in locals dominated by the 18-35 age group.

If Patrick had not entered the race, observers agree that Lon Roy Patterson, a supporter of former UMW chief Tony Boyle, would have beaten Miller. Patterson pulled in 35 percent of the vote, including large blocs from the west and from his home state of Kentucky.

The returns contain ominous implications for this year's contract talks between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Pensioners supported Miller by a hefty margin, but do not vote on contract ratification. A solid 64 percent of working miners opposed Miller. If this sentiment is reflected in the contract vote, the union may conduct a long strike this winter.

The wildcat problem

Miller's overriding problem will be to find solutions to the conflicts that have unleashed a flood of wildcat strikes in recent years. Unauthorized work stoppages have jumped tenfold, from 120 in 1960 to 1,139 in 1976. During the last five months of this year 465,428 man-days were lost from wildcats by industry calculations, almost double the same period of 1976.

BCOA president Joseph Breasman describes wildcats as "the most serious threat to face the union in its history," which have created "industrial anarchy on a grand scale." Unless this "dreaded specter" is controlled in the 1977 contracts, he threatens that national collective bargaining in the coal industry may be at an end.

But frequent wildcats are nothing new



Arnold Miller talks to miners.

Earl Dotter

Having narrowly won re-election, Arnold Miller faces continued internal division on the Executive Board and declining support among miners. His opponents are calling for a rematch in 1978.

in the Appalachian coal fields. A 1970 study, conducted by the Institute of Labor Studies at a West Virginia university, uncovered evidence that such strikes have been an "important element" of coal labor relations from the earliest days of the industry.

Grievances become protests

Keith Dix, an author of that study, believes that the early miners possessed a relatively high degree of job freedom that enabled them to set their own work pace and leave the mines when they felt a full day's work had been completed. This control of the job, in conjunction with their membership in tight-knit, isolated communities where individual grievances often became collective protests, encouraged independent collective action, wildcats,

which matured into a mine tradition.

The number of strikes continued to grow during the 1950s, even though technological changes eliminated over 200,000 jobs. In 1959 a national coal strike, which ended in millions of dollars in property damage and the death of several scabs, showed that the union was gradually losing control over its members.

In the mid-1960s, the advent of the War on Poverty in Appalachia helped tie together the mineworkers' struggles with the concerns of the unemployed and welfare recipients. It also brought an influx of young, Northern liberals into coal communities. A full-fledged "wildcat movement" resulted that became more broadly political in character. In 1970, for example, a massive wildcat in West Virginia forced a black lung bill through the

state legislature.

Inadequate grievance procedure

A prime cause of recent wildcats is the grievance procedure established in the last contract. "One of the major problems in the coal fields today is that the grievance machinery isn't as effective as it should be," a West Virginia federal judge told the *Wall Street Journal*. "It's slow and cumbersome and lends itself to too much delay."

Instead of resolving disputes at the work site, the first step in the grievance system, mine superintendents routinely divert responsibility to higher levels of company management and tell miners to work through the machinery. It typically takes four to six months to solve a conflict in this way, union officials say.

"They seem to have the divine right of kings theory of management," says Bruce Boyens, a miner in Sharon, W. Va. "Every time we approach management on an issue, they're unwilling to move. Their attitude is to take it to arbitration, which takes six months while the miners have to wait around and the company continues to violate the agreement. Going all the way to arbitration, including miners' lost time, can cost \$1000 for one grievance."

Over 2,700 grievances went to arbitration last year, compared to an average of 600 under the old agreement. Both arbitrators and the review board, the last two stages of the procedure, are overwhelmed by the workload. The board cleared only 14 percent of the cases before it in 1976.

Use of management rights clause

The major areas of dispute are company-imposed policies concerning absenteeism, discharges and job classification. Though these policies are not articulated in the contract, company officials cite the management rights clause when implementing them.

"It's like the 19th century in the southern coal fields," says Tom Bethell, former UMW Research Director. "Management looks down on the miners and refuses to recognize legitimate grievances. And the rank and file are determined not to be pushed around."

Continued on page 20.

Cut in UMW health benefits sparks widespread wildcats

Trustees of the UMW Health and Retirement Funds announced June 20 that miners and pensioners would no longer receive cost-free medical services after July 1. The news set off wildcat strikes in the east involving some 31,000 miners.

The cuts were necessitated, the trustees claimed, because past unauthorized strikes had drained \$65 million in employer contributions from the funds. Payments are made on the basis of hours worked and tonnage of coal mined. Arnold Miller, newly reelected president of the UMW, charged that the cuts were part of "a calculated attempt to destroy the funds and the UMW."

The poor financial condition of the funds, which are jointly administered by union and industry representatives, has long been a source of controversy. When the 1950 funds, serving miners who retired before 1974, were pinched last year, money was reallocated from the funds established in 1974. With over \$300 million in assets, the 1974 funds were clearly in a position to transfer

money again this year.

The industry trustee, however, vetoed another reallocation because "the effect would be to encourage wildcat strikes and to destroy any efforts to bring them under control," said Joseph Brennan, president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Evidence suggests that a tentative decision to cut benefits was made prior to the June 14 UMW election, but that the Miller administration declined to announce it beforehand because it would have damaged his election prospects.

Though a Miller-appointed fund trustee denies that a decision was made before June 14, the letter informing members went to press the afternoon of the election. UMW secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick charges that it was written days before. The UMW executive board must therefore "schedule a [election] rerun with all possible speed," Patrick declared.

It is unclear whether the wildcats will continue after the miners' regular two-week holiday that ends July 11.

ENERGY

Jerry Brown stands Pat, takes gas

By Robert Schaeffer

Here in California shortages abound. There's a water shortage and there is a shortage of natural gas. For urban residents the drought has meant rationed water and bottled french fizzy. For farmers it has meant stunted crops and dusty fields, and for suburbanites it has meant empty backyard swimming pools. But even if the drought ended tomorrow and water refilled reservoirs and swimming pools, many of those kidney-shaped pools would be unheated and the gas shortage would continue unabated. State officials have already refused to supply gas for heating pools built after 1976 and, more importantly, have said that the dearth of natural gas will cost the state 390,000 jobs by 1981.

Gov. Jerry Brown intends to keep the state's pilot lights burning by importing expensive liquified natural gas (LNG) from Indonesia even though California has contracts to receive cheap supplies from Texas and Alaska. Curiously enough Jerry's father Pat (former governor Edmund G. Brown, Sr.) stands to make a fortune if the state goes ahead with its plans to replace Texas gas with Indonesian LNG. More curious still is Jerry Brown's enthusiastic support for this extremely expensive and potentially dangerous form of energy when cheaper and safer domestic alternatives are available.

Biting the bullet on LNG.

When asked about a potential conflict of interest over his advocacy of LNG given his family's heavy investment in it, Gov. Brown heatedly remarked, "You're calling me a corrupt person and I resent that." At a national board meeting of the Sierra Club, Brown advised environmentalists to "bite the bullet on LNG" because "we have to find a place for LNG to replace the diminishing supply [of natural gas]."

It will be difficult to get environmentalists to bite this bullet. And it will be harder still to get consumers to swallow the LNG proposal whole. The origins of the gas shortage are suspect since the Texas gas suppliers who have failed to deliver gas on schedule are sitting on top of huge reserves. The substitution of imported Indonesian natural gas in its liquified, or frozen form is suspicious. LNG costs three to five times as much as existing regulated gas. And Jerry Brown's support is questionable since his father is in league with both LNG's Indonesian suppliers and its customers, the California utilities. Pat Brown owns the Indonesian gas subsidiary that will sell the LNG to the state, is involved in his capacity as a lawyer in efforts to suspend deliveries of Texas supplies of natural gas to California, and heads the CEEB (Council for Economic and Environmental Balance), a group lobbying for LNG on behalf of the utilities, big business, and organized labor.

Texas fails to deliver.

El Paso Gas Company, the Texas firm that supplies half of California's natural gas has failed to deliver according to its contract. While claiming that they have inadequate supplies they are sitting on top of large reserves that they refuse to tap until they get a higher price. California's state officials have not pressed El Paso to meet its obligations and have turned to other sources, including Indonesian gas.

Regulated natural gas now costs about .30 cents per 1000 cubic feet. Carter's energy proposals would raise the cost of gas to \$1.42 and deregulation would raise it to \$3 per 1000 cubic feet. Supplies at that price would be available for another 60 years. El Paso is holding back on its deliveries, and helping create a pressure for a price increase.

Liquified natural gas from Indonesia, because it is frozen to -259 degrees Fahrenheit, and because it requires expensive handling and shipping containers, will cost between \$5 and \$6 per 1000 cubic



Former governor Pat Brown joins newly elected son, Jerry, at prayer breakfast.

feet. In order to change over from natural gas to LNG the California utilities will have to invest some \$6-9 billion. The trouble is, this amount is larger than the net worth of both PG&E and SoCal, and they're having trouble raising that kind of money from private sources. In order to raise the money for LNG the utilities will have to soak their customers, California's consumers. Small businesses and residential consumers will have to pay \$18 billion over the next 20 years to finance over the next 20 years to finance LNG.

If it's so expensive why are the utilities

so eager to proceed? Because their profits are based on a percentage of their total investment. The more money they sink into building LNG facilities, the greater their total profit.

The State government comes into the picture because the Governor appoints the members of the Public Utilities Commission that will decide whether the utilities can raise their rates. And Jerry Brown and PUC appointee Robert Batinovich also favor the LNG proposal, for reasons unknown.

LNG is expensive. It is also dangerous.

If the highly pressurized gas leaked into the atmosphere it could form a vast, vaporized cloud that could ignite an area many miles square.

Before pursuing a foreign supply of expensive and dangerous energy, state officials might well consider the use of solar energy that could save a third of California's present natural gas expenditure and reexamine the available supplies of cheaper domestic natural gas.

Information for this article is from Tim Brick.

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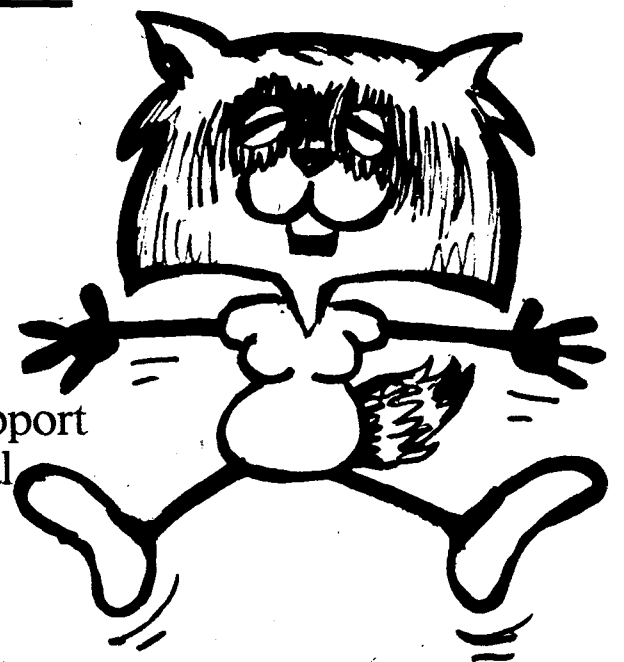
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IN THE WORLD

MEXICO

Oil rich Mexico gets poorer



Bruce Gordon/Byron Jones

Only Saudi Arabia has more oil than Mexico, but foreign debts and internal politics prevent it from enjoying this wealth.

Mexico sits atop some of the world's largest pools of oil, yet a pall of poverty lies over its economy.

The head of Pemex, the government oil company, has just announced that Mexico has proven reserves of 14 billion barrels of petroleum. He predicted that within a few years, when all of the probable oil fields are tapped out, Mexico's reserves will likely total over 60 billion barrels, putting it ahead of Venezuela and in the league of Iran and the Gulf States. Only Saudi Arabia has more, and rumors are circulating that the CIA has just estimated Mexico's reserves at an astounding 100 billion barrels, putting it in the Saudi's oil-drenched league.

Yet there are no signs of an oil boom. Instead, the country's economy is staggering. The beggars from the countryside still line the streets of the city. Between 30 and 40 percent of the labor force is unemployed. Inflation is still running at an annual rate of over 24 percent, while government deficits have increased to 10 percent.

Last year's massive devaluation, which cut the value of the peso by almost half, has caused a great surge in the prices of imported goods. Industries such as the automobile industry, which depend on imported parts, have been knocked flat on their backs. Automobile sales and production have plummeted. The repeated denials of Volkswagen and other auto executives that they are closing down their Mexican operations are sounding increasingly hollow.

Mortgaged to foreign banks.

Why have the vast pools of newly-discovered oil not led to a boom? In part, because much of the oil is already mortgaged to foreign banks. The Mexican government has already borrowed to its limit against it. It now owes \$28 billion abroad and the International Monetary Fund, in making its last loan last year, forbade it from borrowing more than \$5 billion more.

Mexico's total foreign debt is around \$45 billion. Only Canada and Brazil, one much richer and the other much larger, are in that league on this continent. So far the dollars earned from the trickle of exported oil have hardly helped to pay even the interest on the massive debt.

Mexican nationalism also delays the quickest exploitation of the fields. In the early years of this century, Mexico was the world's foremost oil producer outside the U.S. Yet the fields were owned by American and British companies who left little of the wealth they took from the ground behind. The Mexican government's nationalization of those firms in 1938 was probably the single most popular act ever undertaken by a government here.

Since then, the exploitation and sale of petroleum has been a monopoly of Pemex, a government-owned company. Until recently, Pemex has been relatively conservative in its exploration and development of new resources. Moreover, it also has a reputation for deep-rooted corruption, waste and inefficiency.

There are widespread doubts that Pemex can exploit the resources as quickly and efficiently as possible. The easiest route would be to grant concessions to foreign oil companies and take a share of their production. But the foreign oil companies are still so unpopular that it would be political suicide. Thus, the government repeatedly promises that there will be no concessions granted, that Mexico will exploit its oil by itself. Yet to exploit the oil to the fullest by itself it needs more money, money that it can no longer borrow against the oil.

This does not rule out contracts to foreign technical firms. Nor has it prevented the beginning of a 750 mile natural gas pipeline from the Tampico oil fields to Texas. In the gas that is an abundant by-product of the oil fields and in the crude oil itself, Mexico has made it clear that it intends to keep supplying its present customers as much as they want.

At the moment, the U.S. buys 90 percent of Mexico's oil while Israel buys the

rest. They pay and will continue to pay the OPEC price, although Mexico will not join OPEC for fear of losing the preferential tariffs its other exports to the U.S. enjoy.

Flight of capital.

Ultimately, it is on these other exports that Mexico will have to rely, yet they, along with the rest of the economy, remain sluggish. Businessmen are still shell-shocked by the last years of the Echeverria administration, when the government, swimming against the tide of the worldwide recession, borrowed billions to pump into new, often inefficient government-owned corporations. Echeverria caused a massive flight of domestic and foreign capital when he verbally flayed private investors and threatened to break up and redistribute the most efficient, export-oriented, Mexican corporate farms.

The new administration of Jose Lopez Portillo has spent much of its time courting both Mexican and foreign investors, trying to reassure them through more efficient government spending and restraint that the economy will turn around. But this means, among other things, cutting back on borrowing to exploit the oil.

So far, Lopez Portillo has met with mixed results. Although the massive flight of capital has slowed, both foreign and Mexican investors are still reluctant to commit themselves to an economy that even oil seems unable to lead from the doldrums. Moreover, Lopez Portillo is widely regarded as weak, a man without a following.

David Rockefeller has just completed a visit here and left without the usual glowing statements about Mexico's economic future. The peso remains feeble and continues to slide, making it even harder for the country to pay back its foreign debt and borrow to develop its oil.

Tourism, which was supposed to boom after the devaluation, remains sluggish. The lingering effects of the Jewish-American boycott, which led to the loss of many conventions, plus horror stories about vio-

lence on Mexico's highways and mistreatment of Americans and Canadians in its jails have neutralized the news that Mexico is again a country of bargains. Now that the Mexican government is emphasizing this in its tourist advertising, inflation is rapidly making it much less so.

Abysmal poverty.

The people who are hurting most are the mass of desperately poor peasants in the countryside and the vast pool of unemployed or under-employed in the cities. Soaring costs for basics have pushed many into abysmal poverty.

Discontent is also building up among unionized workers, whose wages are not keeping up with the rise in prices. Yet few people, including most leftists, see an impending explosion. The union movement remains firmly in the hands of government supporters. The only major strike for more than the 10 percent wage increase limit, has been at the national university, and that is being led by an independent union that the government refuses to recognize and bargain with.

Although small leftist urban guerilla groups continue to make headlines, it is mainly in losing encounters with the authorities. A more serious threat to the system is the resurgence of the Communist party of Mexico. For long a silent partner of PRI, fearful of rocking the boat, it has emerged as a leading force in a new, non-sectarian opposition. Valentin Campa, its presidential candidate, drew 1,500,000 write-in votes in last year's presidential election even though he was not legally on the ballot and many voters cannot write. The incessant conflicts with other leftist sects, including even the Trotskyists, have been put aside. The ties with Moscow have been cut, and the party now seeks to emulate the sweet reasonableness of the Italian Communist party. It has even been making broad overtures to the Catholic church, arguing that priests should be allowed to participate in politics.

His ability to garner 10 percent of the vote against the massive government party's electoral machine surprised even Campa, veteran of innumerable strikes and prison stints. So did the popular response to his shoestring campaign. "It was astounding," he said in an interview. "Where we expected maybe 5,000 to show up at a rally in some small city I would arrive and find a huge mob of 80 to 90 thousand. The same thing continues to happen, as people grow enraged over what the economic crisis is doing to them."

Yet even Campa will admit that the leftists are still far from gaining any real power.

People of all political stripes see no quick end to the present crisis. The optimists only say that eventually, with the help of the vast black seas that lie beneath it, Mexico will indeed pull out, but they give no timetable. Even the Minister of Finance admitted to visiting English bankers that although his government was making "a great effort to conquer it," Mexico is still living in economic crisis. He had no assurances as to when it would be conquered.

About the only optimistic news of late has been the calculation that Mexico's enormous rate of population growth has finally begun to decline, falling from its 3.5 percent annual average of the past years to 3.3 percent last year. Yet with the Gross National Product having increased only 2 percent last year and expected to do no better this year, the figures still presage an actual drop in standard of living for most Mexicans.

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Soviets take on Eurocommunism: "revisionism" & "anti-Sovietism"

By Louis Menashe

The Soviet Union's growing impatience with Eurocommunist currents was reflected in a recent editorial in the Moscow foreign affairs weekly, *New Times*, denouncing the recent book, *Communism and the State* by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist party. To underline its dissatisfaction, Moscow circulated the editorial through the official press agency Tass, and mentioned it on its foreign language broadcasts.

Though sharp in tone and widely reported, the editorial was not a departure in Moscow's attitude toward the Eurocommunists, whose rebukes to the traditional orthodoxies championed by Moscow have nettled the Soviet party for some time now. In Soviet ideological journals, in the party newspaper *Pravda*, at international conferences, and through its supporters in the communist movement, Moscow has expressed an uneasiness with Eurocommunists on the "dictatorship of the proletariat," "proletarian internationalism," the transition to socialism in advanced capitalist societies, civil liberties and parliamentary pluralism under socialism and, perhaps the most dramatic and immediately exacerbating question of all, dissidents in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

It seems safe to say the current controversies will produce splits and realignments quite as pronounced and with consequences equally as profound as the Sino-Soviet schism of the 1960s. At stake is nothing less than the real, very practical possibility of communist parties in Western Europe with a wide enough popular base to propel them into political power on the parliamentary road. A specter might very well be haunting Moscow, the specter of Eurocommunism.

Polycentrism with a vengeance.

A number of long-range historical elements in combination with recent political developments accounts for the current state of affairs. Among the former is the changed character of the USSR itself. Before and immediately after the second World War, the Soviet Union commanded allegiance from communist parties everywhere almost by the very fact of its being. It was an outpost of socialism in an imperialist world, enveloped in the glory of the Bolshevik Revolution and of having almost single-handedly wrecked Hitler's armies in Eastern Europe. When this prestige failed Stalinist compulsion, insisting on Moscow-defined orthodoxy and the elimination of Trotskyists and other dissenters from communist party ranks in all countries was used.

Tito's recalcitrance in 1948, the rise of a communist China after 1949, and Stalin's death and subsequent condemnation by Khrushchev in 1956 changed the environment. A liberalized Soviet Union internally also connoted liberalized relationships with communist parties abroad.

The era of "polycentrism" in the communist world was born, implying different and equal centers of communism, each with final say on its own political terrain. The Chinese practiced polycentrism with a vengeance; the Eurocommunists, after some delay, and with considerably more tact are now brandishing their independence and are attempting to apply their own politics.

A new generation.

In some cases, a simple generational transformation of leadership may explain the

The Eurocommunist rebellion has been led by a new generation of communist leaders—like Italy's Enrico Berlinguer (right) and France's Georges Marchais (below).

new attitudes toward Moscow. Enrico Berlinguer, present head of the Italian Communist party, was just a child when the party's founders were thrown into jail by the Fascists. Lars Werner, leader of the Swedish Communist party (one of the early innovators of Eurocommunism) is only 41, while Regnar Arnalds, Icelandic Communist party chief, is in his 30s. Georges Marchais, head of the French party, is 20 years younger than his predecessor.

Such men do not venerate the USSR in the way of their older comrades. They are quite willing to experiment with new conceptions derived from the political climate of the two decades since Stalin's death. They also continue to face opposition from their older comrades. In France, Jeanette Vermeersch, widow of the old-line leader of the French Communist party, Maurice Thorez, recently attacked party historian Jean Elleinstein for his critical writings on the USSR. Last January, *New Times*, in language foreshadowing the attack on Santiago Carrillo, condemned the same Elleinstein for writings "hardly distinguished from...reactionary journalists." (See *ITT*, June 1.)

In the recent *New Times*, Carrillo, was chided for having spoken of the USSR

and the Soviet party "in terms that even the most reactionary writers do not often venture to use." Similar sentiments about Carrillo were expressed by another old-line member of an old-line party, Henry Winston of the American Communist party last October in the party's theoretical journal *Political Affairs*. Winston argued that Carrillo's statements smacked of "anti-Sovietism and chauvinism, that integral component of monopoly capital's strategy of division."

Carrillo.

Carrillo of course does not fit a simple generational mold. In his early 60s, his political lineage goes back to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) when Moscow was the only major backer of the Spanish Republic's fight for survival against Francisco Franco's Fascist-supported insurrection.

Carrillo's route to Eurocommunism is illustrative of some of the more recent developments molding political attitudes on the left in Western Europe. The Czech experiments of 1968 and the Soviet invasion later that year seem to have been pivotal experiences.

Carrillo writes in his *Eurocommunism and the State*: "For us, the Spanish Com-

munist party, the culminating point in winning our independence was the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The methods used in preparing this operation were the same as those used in the historic [purge] trials of 1936 and in setting the stage for the condemnation of Yugoslavia [in 1948]. Czechoslovakia was the last straw. It made our party say: no, we are through with that kind of internationalism." (At the time, Soviet party chief Brezhnev justified the Warsaw Pact's invasion as exemplary "proletarian internationalism.")

Detente a catalyst.

There are other catalysts to Eurocommunism. One is detente, and the achievement of military equality between the U.S. and the USSR. If the Soviet Union is engaged in wide-ranging collaboration with the capitalist countries in cultural, economic, and strategic arms matters, little remains of the Cold-War siege mentality by which the communist left felt duty-bound to defend the USSR unswervingly.

Another stimulus is the crisis of capitalism in Western European societies. Inflation, unemployment, political corruption, ecological degradation and a moral malaise all cry out for socialist solutions—political democracy, social planning, the



re-distribution of wealth, an increase in public services. The Communist parties of France, Italy, and Spain claim they are prepared, in cooperation with other democratic forces of the center and left, to address such questions and provide solutions from positions of political responsibility.

This approach carries in its wake enormous alterations in traditional theories of the party's role and in traditional attitudes of these parties to the Soviet Union. In order to attract the middle classes, the professional and scientific-cultural intelligentsia, and the "new working class" (salaried white-collar workers), the Eurocommunists must ditch the classical conception of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," especially as elaborated in Soviet practice. Eurocommunism implies political "pluralism," a rejection of the one-party state in which the proletarian masses are represented by a single, authentically "vanguard" party, and a commitment to abiding by parliamentary, electoral forms.

Eurocommunist parties must demonstrate that they are not simple mouthpieces of Soviet foreign policy (the classical meaning of "proletarian internationalism") and they must also re-establish the connection between democracy and socialism by principled positions on civil liberties and human rights, most of all in regard to the awful condition of dissidents in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Support for dissidents.

On this, possibly the most abrasive matter from the Soviet point of view, Eurocommunists have taken remarkable positions. In Italy, a Communist party publishing house brought out a work by the Soviet Marxist dissident Roy Medvedev, *Was the October Revolution Inevitable?* The Italian party has also offered a post at the Antonio Gramsci Institute, a party research center, to Milan Hubl, a Czech dissident and signer of Charter 77 who was imprisoned for five years for his participation in the Dubcek regime.

The French Communist party has sent representatives to public meetings (organized or attended by Trotskyists and other sections of the left) demanding justice for political prisoners in the USSR. One such event last October drew fire from the correspondent of the Soviet paper *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, organ of the Writers Union: "It is difficult to understand why representatives of the French Communist party turned up among the participants in the meeting.... It is perfectly obvious that, whatever their motives, the speech delivered by an PCP representative... did a service for the reactionary forces that are organically inimical to the ideals of freedom, democracy, international détente and socialism, for the implementation of which the French working class has always fought."

The statement is typical of Soviet responses to Eurocommunist positions on dissidents and human rights. A *prima facie* case is constructed on the argument that criticism of the USSR amounts to a generalized "anti-Sovietism," which amounts to dealing with reactionary anti-communism. And anti-communism, argue the Soviets, will hurt the Eurocommunists.

There are several flaws in the argument, the most painful being the assumption that the European working masses look upon Soviet communism as a good thing. The Eurocommunists are operating from an objective and more realistic assumption: that Soviet practice has tainted the ideals of communism and that to win mass trust and support communist movements must shun the Soviet albatross.

This they do in the most cowardly and

Eurocommunism & new Spain: interview with a CP leader

Manuel Azcarate, head of the International Section of the Spanish Communist party, is one of the leading advocates of Euro-Communism. He was questioned about the future prospects of his party following the June 15 elections by Bernard H. Moss.

QUESTION: *In view of the election results do you think the left will be strong enough in the new Cortes to guarantee a democratic constitution for Spain?*

ANSWER: Yes, we think the elections have created the conditions for the democratization of Spanish political life. In the new Cortes the democratic forces can count upon 20 Communist deputies, about 119 Socialists, the Basque and Catalan autonomists, and some deputies from Suarez's coalition who are pledged to democracy. We believe the new Cortes will assume constituent powers and write a democratic constitution for Spain.

A socialist Spain.

During the campaign, you emphasized the immediate democratic tasks, but did not say very much about the struggle for socialism. How do you see that future struggle?

Of course, as a Communist party, our aim is socialism, the end to capitalist exploitation. How we will get there and through what stages we will have to pass is a matter of prophecy and Marxists are not prophets.

But already we have some idea of what the Spanish road to socialism will look like. It will most certainly have to take account of contemporary conditions in Spain, which has both a democratic tradition and a complex industrial social structure. It is because these conditions are common to most highly developed capitalist countries that we are attached to the term Euro-communism.

These conditions both permit and require a truly democratic socialism based on the active support of the large majority of the population. In political terms it cannot result from the efforts of a single party, but only of a broad coalition including Socialists, Left Christians, and other Marxists.

Socially, it must be based on an alliance that goes beyond the traditional working class to include those professional and technical workers whom we call the forces of culture. These groups find themselves in opposition to monopoly capital not only on economic grounds, but also in respect to their creative function, which is bound and shackled under capitalism. Many professionals in the areas of education and health realize today that the logic of creativity is incompatible with the logic of capitalist profit.

Economically, too, our project differs from the Soviet model. Spanish socialism will not be statist and centralized, but will leave room for local control and for a large private sector. Of course, the major means of production, banks and large industry, cannot remain in the hands of private investors for their own profit. They must be socialized, but not necessarily controlled by the central state. Depending on their size and function, they

may be run by local groups or cities. We also think that room must be left for individual initiative in small and medium industry and in the agricultural sector where experience has proven that a premature collectivization can only lead to repression and bureaucratic control.

Spain linked to Europe.

How long will this process take?

I can't say exactly, but we do think that if the left comes to power in France and Italy the question of limiting monopoly power in Spain, of nationalizing major banks and industries, will arise fairly soon. In the present phase where the immediate task is democratization we have only called for the democratic or parliamentary control of investment policy, not the nationalization of the major banks. But Spanish affairs are linked closely with those of Europe generally, and things there, as you know, are moving very quickly.

Speaking of Europe, how do you explain your eagerness to join the Common Market, which is still dominated by West German and American capital?

We want to enter the Common Market as it is in order to change it from within and along with other left forces in Europe give it a more democratic and working class orientation. We recognize that within the narrow confines of Spain we are incapable of achieving economic independence from the American multinationals. This is only possible on a European level.

"It would be pure propaganda to ask for the unilateral liquidation of American bases without reciprocal action from the Soviet Union, a withdrawal of their troops from Eastern Europe.

What is your attitude then toward American military bases in Spain?

In principle we are in favor of a foreign policy of non-alignment and therefore oppose the presence of American bases on our soil. But realistically we know that American bases in Spain are only a consequence of the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, and it would be pure propaganda to ask for the unilateral liquidation of American bases without reciprocal action from the Soviet Union, a withdrawal of their troops from Eastern Europe. Since the great powers are unlikely to reach agreement on this score, we think the Europeans themselves must take the initiative to liquidate the military blocs. Naturally, we are opposed to Spain joining the NATO alliance.

Differences with Socialists.

Your program sounds very much like that of the PSOE, the Socialist party, that was the big winner in the recent elections. Do you think there is still a big difference between the Socialist and Communist parties?

It is true that the vote for political and economic change benefitted the Socialist more than the Communist party. After 40 years of fascist propaganda directed against us, it was difficult in the course of a short election campaign to overcome the fear that we constitute a danger to freedom. With the administrative machinery still in the hands of fascist officials, it took

real heroism to vote Communist in some areas. Considering how much easier it was to vote Socialist, I think that the ten percent we received was a good result.

As for differences with the Socialist party, we think that even though it proclaims itself Marxist and indeed has strong socialist elements in it, that it still has not made up its mind about breaking with capitalism. It still maintains ties with German Social Democracy and with a tradition that is bent upon administering capitalist society

"The advance of Eurocommunism will have a tremendous impact on the rest of the world, including the Soviet Union. It will have great impact because it will be a superior form of socialism."

rather than breaking with it. If, as part of a dynamic process, it takes the socialist road, then it will be very close to us and we will work together.

Sole role.

You have said that the model of socialism you are proposing for Spain is radically different from that in force in the Soviet Union, which you have criticized severely. Do you, however, still consider it to be a positive force in world affairs.

Yes, we think the Soviet Union plays a very important role in checking imperialist aggression in the world, mainly by virtue of its military strength. One may perhaps criticize some aspect of their foreign policy, but as Vietnam demonstrated they are generally on the side of peoples struggling against imperialist and capitalist oppression, chiefly U.S. imperialism. What we criticize is their political structure, which is based upon archaic conceptions of administrative control and coercion rather than on principles of socialist democracy.

Do you still consider it then to be a socialist country?

Yes, but of a very primitive type. It was the first country that eliminated capitalism as an economic system and that gave impetus to the world socialist revolution. But for historical reasons and despite tremendous economic progress it has remained primitive in respect to elemental democratic rights that are completely lacking in the Soviet Union.

How do you think it will change?

I don't know exactly, but I do think that the advance of Euro-communism will have a tremendous impact on the rest of the world, including the Soviet Union. It will have great impact because it will be a superior form of socialism—superior in the scientific sense of being closer to communism, closer to a society in which the state apparatus has begun to wither away.

The Soviets have reacted quite violently to your criticism of them. Have their attacks on you had any effect within your party?

Some years ago, as you know, they tried to set up a rival pro-Soviet party, but their attempt failed completely. Of course, they have made clear their opposition to us by their absurd attacks on Euro-communism. We are not very concerned about these attacks because we are convinced that we are acting in the interests of the Spanish people. You know, it is very difficult for a foreign power, even the Soviet Union, to influence a political party that is completely independent like our own.

The Russians

The great debate: Is USSR socialist or capitalist?

By Louis Menashe
Scarcely did the shooting stop around the Winter Palace in Petrograd, 1917, when people began wondering how to define the novel order of things the Bolsheviks helped usher into the world. Sixty years later people are still wondering. Is the USSR socialist? If not, was it ever? If not, is it on the right (left) road?

In official Moscow, 1977, the issue does not exist. It is taken as a given that socialism has prevailed in the Soviet Union ever since the early 1930s, when peasant farming was forcibly collectivized and the remnants of private trade and enterprise were eliminated. Here are two random samples of current official thinking on the matter.

• From a resolution of the Communist party's Central Committee, "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution": "The victory of October is the main event of the 20th century, one that radically changed the course of development of all mankind.... The achievements of the homeland of October over six decades are convincing testimony that socialism has ensured historically unprecedented rates of progress in all aspects of the life of society.... The most important result of the Soviet people's selfless labor is the society of developed socialism that has been built in our country...."

• From a text on economic science by Academician N.P. Fedorenko: "The USSR, the world's first socialist state, with a half-century of history behind it, provides a vast store of experience demonstrating the strength and the inexhaustible creative potentialities of the new system, which is based on social property in the means of production. Socialism has shown itself to be the most progressive organization of social life and has vastly accelerated the pace of socio-economic and cultural development in the USSR."

One clue towards a definition for those who identify socialism with open debate and criticism in all spheres of life: in official Moscow the issue is not *permitted* to exist. Questioning the socialist character of the USSR is likely to be regarded as a treasonable offense.

Lenin's questions.

It wasn't always that way. The original Bolsheviks had lots of questions about what they had wrought. Lenin, for example, thought that the revolution inaugurated a prolonged period of "state capitalism," by which he meant a kind of mixed economy (part socialist, part capitalist) directed from above by a *socialist-minded* political regime. On one occasion he spoke of the USSR as "a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations"—by which he meant that state power belonged in theory to the working class through the political agency of the Communist party, but that actual, day-to-day governmental administration had become the domain of a special stratum of functionaries, many of whom were not even sympathetic to socialism.

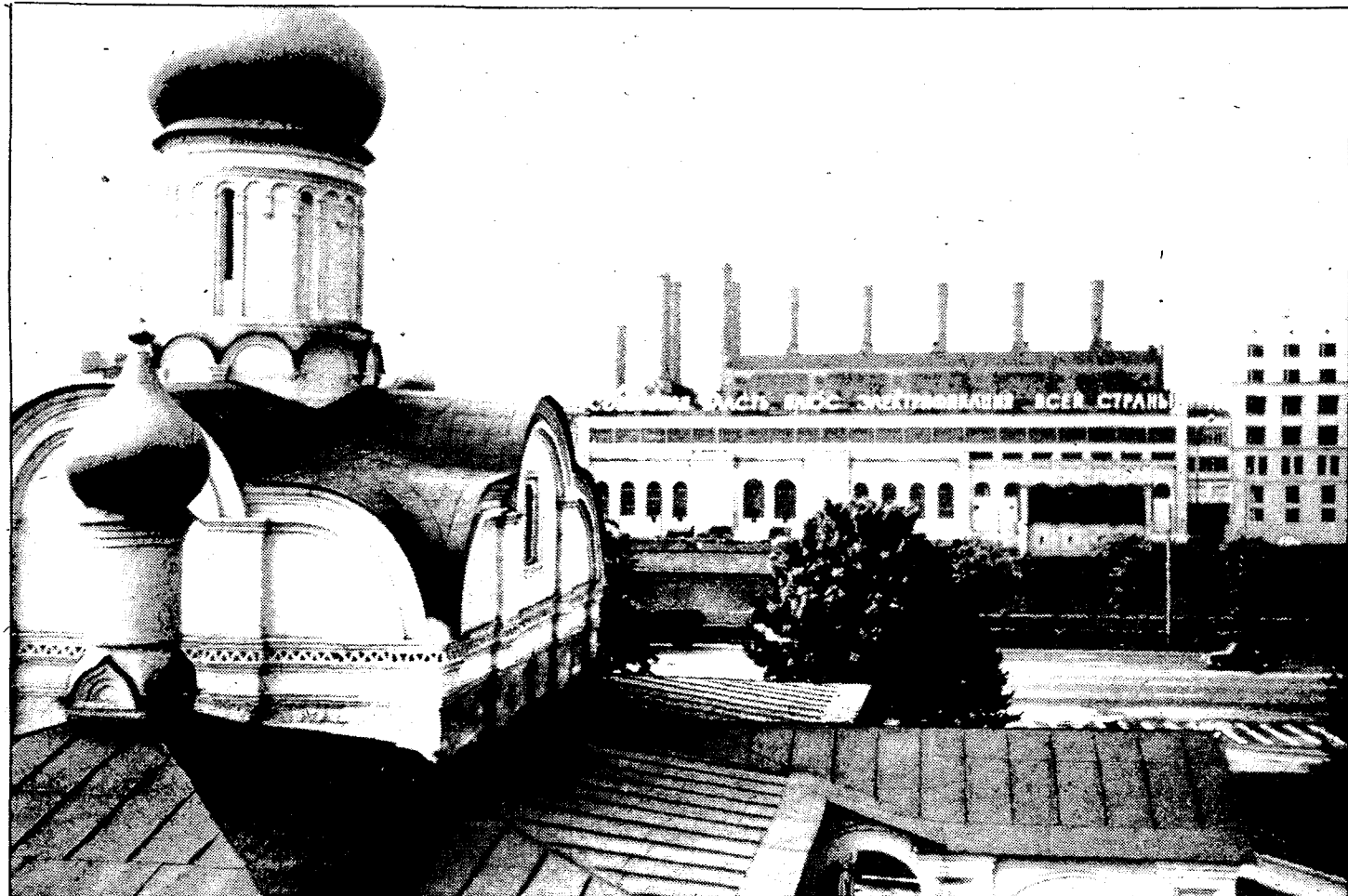
Some saw this as an inevitable consequence—to live with and struggle against—of introducing socialism in a vast and economically backward country, where a huge peasant mass marked by illiteracy and political indifference outweighed the urban workers, who were not quite 10 percent out of a population of 120 million.

Others, inside and outside the Bolshevik party, denounced the climate of political intimidation, centralization and authoritarianism that the Soviet regime seemed to exude as it dug in, siege-like, to build and defend "socialism" amidst domestic and international enemies. The critics argued that socialism had to be built through the expansion, not contraction, of political liberties; through the erosion, not accenting, of all sorts of differentials relating to wages, ranks, and privileges; and through the direct, not bureaucratic, control by

workers and peasants themselves over the political and economic decisions affecting their condition.

Debate rages abroad.

Debates about these issues were choked off by the Stalin regime early in the 1930s as a condition of its own survival. Abroad, among the left, the debates raged on. The Soviet Union was the only country, so it claimed, engaged in building socialism; people everywhere understood socialism



to mean what existed in the USSR. There was plenty for the left to debate about: either the USSR was socialist or it wasn't. At stake was the very idea of socialism itself.

The socialist movement peeled off into different parties, sects, and splinters on the basis of where they stood on that question. The pro-Soviet left—the communist parties and their supporters—argued, following Moscow's lead, that since the means of production had been taken away from private hands and converted into public property managed by representatives of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the interests of all, the USSR was unquestionably a socialist society.

Making omelets.

The anti-Soviet left argued that this was pure moonshine. Yes, private property and private control over the means of production in the traditional sense had certainly been eliminated. In their place, however, a new class system had emerged, not very different in the last analysis from capitalism: this new class system ensured political power and economic authority in the hands of an elite that exploited the masses for their own benefit.

Just look at the elite's chauffeur-driven limousines and country houses (*dachas*) in contrast to the hard work and poverty of the toilers. An old Soviet joke: What is capitalism? Answer: the exploitation of man by man. What is socialism? Answer: the opposite.

Whole social theories were spun out of this simple observation—theories of "bureaucratic collectivism," "state capitalism," "state socialism" and so on down to the theory of the "new class" espoused by the Yugoslav ex-communist Milovan Djilas. (Many of the figures who broached these ideas were communists originally, only to wind up in the camp of anti-communism, often of the most virulent type.)

In between the pro- and anti-Soviet socialists were the followers of Leon Trotsky, the brilliant and tragic revolutionary, once People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and of War in the early Soviet regime, later struck down in Mexico on Stalin's orders. The Trotskyists held that in certain essentials the USSR was undeniably a workers' state, the heir of the October Revolution, but that owing to international isolation and low material levels, it had degenerated into a system of bureaucratic deformations. A bureaucratic elite, not capitalist, but not quite socialist either, generated production and skimmed off the benefits. A schizophrenic class; a schizophrenic society.

Defenders of the Soviet Union had to explain away some of the lurid features of Soviet life—revolutionaries devouring each other in purges and staged trials, the despotic authority of Stalin, the pulverizing of creative culture, the strange foreign policy that wound up with Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia holding hands on the eve of World War II.

Some accepted and parroted every justification coming from Moscow. Others swallowed hard and argued: look, it isn't easy to build socialism in a non-socialist world: to make an omelet you have to crack some eggs; when you chop wood the chips fly.

Those who defended socialism *against* the Soviet Union had to convince themselves and others that applying socialist ideas in other societies would not result in a Soviet-type system.

Chinese charges.

The outlines of those debates are the same today, add a few twists and wrinkles. The Chinese and their followers are most responsible for stirring up the old debates. They continue to excoriate the USSR as a restored capitalist society, as a society dominated by "new tsars," even as a fascist society. The new left in the

West poured new juice into the controversy by introducing non-economistic definitions of socialism, emphasizing not the tons of steel that a socialist society was capable of producing, but its quality of life, its social relations, its idea of community. (For many in the new left, the Soviets had so stained the model of socialism that they hesitated to define their vision as socialist.)

From within the USSR a dissident movement has started making assertions not heard since the 1920s and 1930s. Leonid Plyushch, a Soviet mathematician and dissident Marxist, allowed to emigrate last year, leaps right out of the old debates when he argues "that Stalinism is a Thermidorian Bonapartist degeneration of the October Revolution, that state capitalism had been built in the Soviet Union, property belongs to a state which is alienated from all classes, property does not belong to the people. The bureaucracy is the servant of the abstract capitalist—the state."

And from the Eurocommunist centers of Paris, Rome, and Madrid comes the realization—at long last—that although the foundations of a socialist economy (the public ownership of the means of production) have been forged in the USSR, its peculiar political practices make the Soviet model irrelevant to the democratic traditions (however warped by the needs of capital) of the West.

The American view.

Judging by the contents and popularity of two journalistic accounts of the USSR by correspondents who lived there for three years—Robert G. Kaiser (*Russia: The People and the Power*) and Hedrick Smith (*The Russians*)—the American perception of how the Soviet system works and what it has to do with socialism has also changed. The Kaiser/Smith views of the USSR in the 1970s supercede the nightmarish landscape popularized by

Photographs by Meg Gerkin

Left: The neon sign on the Moscow electric plant reads: "Communism means Soviet power and electrification of the whole country." Top: A typical display of affection between father and child, more common in the USSR than in the U.S. Bottom: Two women in Moscow's farmer's market.



Solzhenitsyn as well as the totalitarian-Orwellian monstrosity projected by the academic social scientists and journalists of another era.

Getting into the textures of Soviet life, Kaiser and Smith were able to deflate many of the clichés yielded by purely theoretical or official ways of understanding the USSR. Smith confesses what must have been for him an amazing discovery: "the longer I stayed in Moscow, the less impressed by how Communist the country was and the more I thought how Russian it was."

This is too simple a fall-back position for a full understanding. The "Russianness" of Russia—says the sometimes lazy-benevolent, the sometimes nasty-oppressive bureaucratic ways one always encounters there—is rooted in particular social relations, a culture, and a history—themselves demanding explanation. Still, Smith's observation represents a breakthrough of sorts. If I might put words in his mouth, he is one step away from saying socialism/communism ought not be judged on the basis of its Soviet elaboration.

For Americans, that is a healthier frame of mind in which to think about Russia and about socialism. It opens the climate to new options for approaching the grave disorders in American life and for introducing socialist options of our own. The Russians, as this survey points up, have no particular patent on socialism (nor do their critics). They have sifted socialist ideas through their own national culture.

The institutions they created necessarily reflected their own historical background. The problems they addressed were clustered around the target of a planned, rapid mobilization of economic resources from low prior levels. Other societies will

approach socialism with different national temperaments and institutions, and will address different problems. In the U.S., for example, the appeal for socialism cannot be grounded in the call to economic development, as in the Soviet experience.

No abstract socialism.

We ought, therefore, be prepared to think of *socialisms* and not some abstract socialism. A common denominator is an end to privately controlled production for private profit. That is the basic theme; it's when the theme is developed that the problems begin. For socialism is not simply a mode of production, but a mode of life—cooperative, humane, non-intimidating.

Accordingly, is the USSR socialist? To be flip about it: Yes, but I wouldn't want to live there. To be more serious: Yes, but with flaws so acute as to strain the definition.

Is it heading in an acceptable direction? Here, an extended discussion of present internal as well as international dynamics is important. Clearly, the USSR is at a turning point, where the regime has to start thinking about new ways to address new problems—mass consumption, urbanization, the rise and consolidation of a mammoth new working class, the persistent demand for widening civil liberties.

The resulting frictions are too complex to gauge. Amidst the complexity another novel element: the growth of movements for democratic socialism in the West, looping their ideas back on the original home of the socialist revolution.

Next week: The Soviets in world affairs.

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IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Abortion: what about life after birth?

Life after birth is no less precious than life before birth. Slow death or deformed life through malnutrition, disease, cultural and educational deprivation is as much an abortion as the premature termination of pregnancy.

Since a 1973 Supreme Court decision, neither the federal nor any state government may constitutionally forbid abortion in the early months of pregnancy.

Last year Congress passed the Labor-HEW department appropriations bill with the Hyde amendment (for Henry J. Hyde, R-IL) forbidding the expenditure of federal funds to pay for abortions except where the mother's life is in danger. That provision has never been enforced because a federal district court found it unconstitutional in view of the 1973 Supreme Court decision.

But on June 20, the Supreme Court, dividing 6-3, while sustaining a woman's right to be free from unreasonable government interference with her decision to terminate pregnancy, ruled that there is no right to state medicaid funds for an abortion.

The Court also ruled that a municipal hospital may lawfully be directed to refuse to perform nontherapeutic abortions.

By implication, the Court's decision means that the federal government may also constitutionally forbid the use of its funds to pay for elective abortions. And on June 23 the Court agreed to consider argument for vacating the stay on the 1976 Hyde amendment.

Now, Congress is moving toward restoring severe restrictions on federal payments for abortions. The House on June 17 passed a revised Hyde amendment, forbidding payments except where the mother's life is in danger, or where the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest, or where disease or complications may result in a deformed fetus. The Senate Appropriations committee has added the further exemption of permitting abortion where a physician certifies it as "medically necessary."

If the legislation should pass, it would mean that even in those states where legislatures authorized medicaid payments for elective abortions, federal funds could not be so used.

President Carter and his HEW secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. are supporting the House measure. And the Supreme Court's decisions in the state cases have weakened doubts about its unconstitutionality.

Anatole France once remarked with irony that the law in its infinite majesty allows the rich and the poor equally to sleep under the bridge at night. In the same vein, but without the irony, Justice Lewis F. Powell speaking for the Court's majority, advises the "indigent woman who desires an abortion" that she "continues as before to be dependent on private sources for the service she desires." There is no "constitutional right to an abortion," says the upright judge, but only the equal right to pay for one. A new twist in the War on (those in) Poverty.

The Court's decision does have the virtue of dramatizing the impossibility of achieving equality before the law or the equal protection of the law in the face of a class-divided society. It reminds us that in

the struggle for sexual and racial equality there is no escaping the class question.

Justice Powell for the majority acknowledged that allocating scarce welfare needs involves "the most basic economic needs of impoverished human beings"; but the equal protection principle could not bring the law to meet those needs.

The withholding of public funds for abortions, as dissenting Justice Thurgood Marshall stated, will "brutally coerce poor women to bear children whom society will scorn for every day of their lives. ... There is little chance for the children to grow up in a decent environment. ... I am appalled at the ethical bankruptcy of those who preach a 'right to life' that means, under present social policies, a bare existence in utter misery for so many poor women and their children." Dissenting Justice Harry A. Blackmun summed it up concisely: "And so the cancer of poverty will continue to grow."

There can be no real equality before the law in a society that routinely perpetuates poverty for millions and then makes a "right" contingent upon ability to pay.

Such a "right" then becomes a privilege for the well-off, and coercion, abetted by the state, against the poor. Poor women will be forced either into giving birth, or into seeking unsafe and illegal abortions, or as is occurring with increasing frequency, into sterilization—the ultimate extinguisher of the right to life and a form of genocide against the poor, hitting non-whites with disproportionate force.

Neither abortion nor birth control is the answer to poverty. When it is offered as a panacea, it is an evasion of the quest to end it—and often an attitude of class and racial aggression.

Among those opposing abortion are many who do so out of genuine religious or moral concern for the sanctity of life. Socialists share their concern and respect their pro-life convictions. Socialists should desire serious dialog with sincere "right-to-life" advocates. Here we offer three points in pursuit of such dialog.

• Right-wing and conservative politicians with no genuine concern for the moral or religious issues are busily engaged in exploiting "right-to-life" sentiment. Their purpose is to sustain policies that perpetuate conditions of inequality, poverty and ignorance—the very conditions that make abortion seem the only viable or decent alternative.

• Short of abrogating the principle of separation of church and state, it is impermissible to impose a religious conviction by state action on people who do not share that conviction. In this case, the Catholic church is attempting to enlist state power to impose upon its own members strictures it can no longer impose upon them by the church's religious or moral authority. In the process it is imposing them on all others, however indirectly and incompletely. Indeed, the church is far from sat-



isfied with the present state of the law. It is advocating a constitutional convention to ratify an anti-abortion amendment. So far, nine state legislatures have voted for such a convention.

• There is another equally important consideration. Life after birth is no less precious than life before birth. Slow death or deformed life through malnutrition, disease, cultural and educational deprivation, is as much an abortion of life as is the premature termination of a pregnancy. People may more readily choose to have children in a society that values children, that supports parents—wed or unwed—in bringing children into the world and nurturing them, and that eliminates the economic insecurity, psychological distress, and cultural deprivation that blight the prospect of childbirth with fear and panic.

Along with points such as these, we uphold, and ask "right-to-life" advocates to consider the inalienable right of women to self-determination in their participation in the procreation of human life—a right that is indispensable to the achievement of sexual equality. The Supreme Court's decision and laws of similar intent, either on the books or pending, deprive women

of that right by force of economic circumstance.

The abortion issue goes to the heart of the great questions of our times. It is a woman's question, a race-related question, a class question. And it is all of these together. The condition of real racial and sexual equality is the achievement of social and economic equality by putting an end to class differences and to the poverty, exploitation, and deprivation they perpetuate.

Respect for life before birth can only be secured by respect for life, and the dignity of every person, after birth.

The abortion issue reminds us that the fulfillment of equality before the law and equal protection of the law can come only with the reconstruction of society along the lines of social and economic equality. Until then, Justice Blackmun's dissenting vision of the Constitution "as a force that would serve justice to all evenhandedly" remains an empty hope. In an equalitarian society people may exercise their liberty—including in the realm of human procreation—as free moral agents rather than as the objects of circumstantial or legal coercion. ■

A tentative victory

In our editorial "Jimmy Carter Is Watching You" (ITT, June 29), we observed that President Carter has been moving towards presidential centralization of police and intelligence operations. We noted in particular, and opposed, the Justice department's May 19 directive to the FBI to proceed with a computer project that would centralize all state and local police messages about wanted and missing persons and stolen property. Last year the Ford administration was obliged to reject this project under criticism that it posed a serious threat to civil liberties and individual privacy.

Carter's attempt to revive the project brought similar criticism from members of Congress and from public opinion concerned with civil liberties. In the face of this criticism, the Justice department on June 28 temporarily revoked authorization for the project, pending a new study

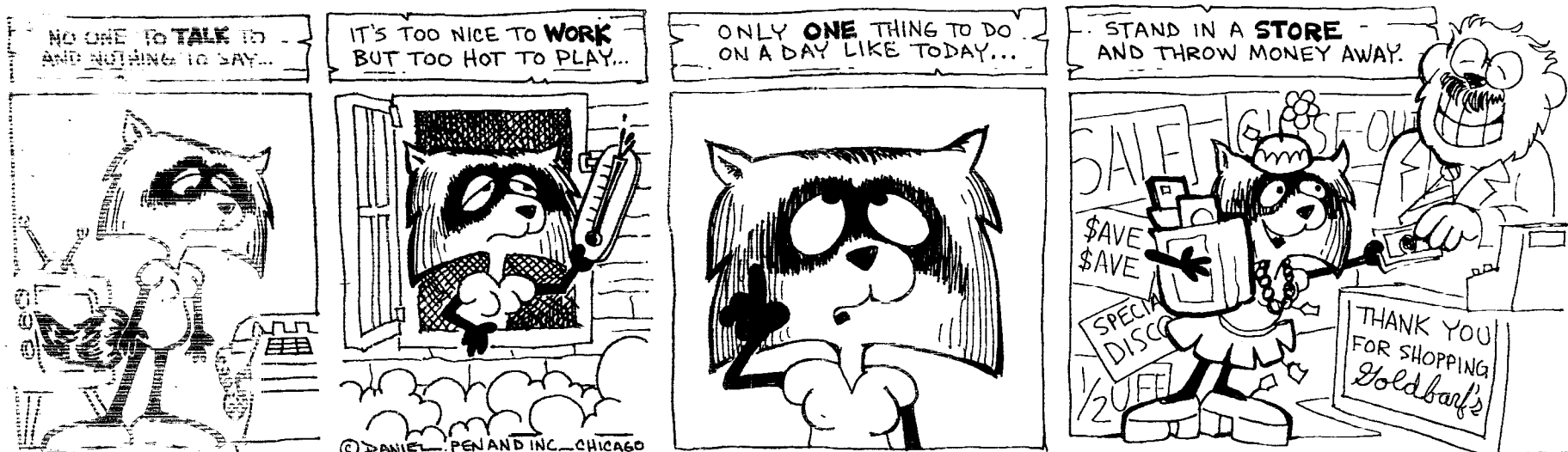
by the department and consultation with congressional opponents.

The administration's move is a strategic retreat, not a surrender. It is still necessary to keep pressure on Congress to prohibit any such FBI computer project, thereby preempting administration plans to revive the scheme later. It is equally essential to press Congress to pass Rep. Herman Badillo's bill (HR-6051), the Federal Intelligence Agencies Control Act, which would forbid political spying on Americans by federal police and intelligence agencies.

The administration's temporary retreat should not lull us into complacency. Redoubled vigilance is still the order of the day.

Write Rep. Herman Badillo, House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515, or to your own representative.

THE FACTORY WITH RIFKA



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Letters

A beacon light

Editor:

Trying not to write and express my gratitude was an impossible task. I find your fascinating publication utterly irresistible. It's the kind of probing, analytical journalism that turns me on. And, done in a spirited, unapologetic, fresh approach.

Really, you are a beacon to light up some of the dark areas politicians thrive in. I savor that intense spotlight that makes some rats scurry! I won't mention their names—they're common knowledge thanks to you! Keep up the good work. And thanks for just being.

—Art Fry
San Francisco

A human rights fest

Editor:

Myra Pahlavi, the wife of the infamous Shah of Iran has been invited to the U.S. to receive an "honorary" degree and to participate in the yearly conference of the Institute for Humanistic Studies in Aspen, Colo. She will be received by New York Mayor Beame's wife and given a "humanitarian" award by *Arguing and Consensus*. This invitation is a prelude to President Carter's invitation of the dictator Shah that will soon follow. This invitation to the wife of the Shah and to the butcher of the Iranian people should remove any illusions about Carter's commitment to human rights.

The struggle of the Iranian people for freedom and independence is just and all the talk of the Carter administration about "human rights" cannot hide the hypocrisy of Carter's propaganda and his real support for the dictatorship of the Shah's regime.

The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. asks the American people to join in solidarity with the Iranian people and condemn the trip of Farah Pahlavi to the U.S. We ask all freedom-loving people to join in our activities which will be waged in order to expose the real nature of Farah Pahlavi's trip and protest her visit.

—Leila Khalili
Iranian Students Association
Chicago

Remarkably interesting

Editor:

Your paper is first rate, well written, remarkably interesting week after week. Your socialist line is refreshingly free from self-serving sectarianism.

—Roger Montgomery
Berkeley, Calif.

Filling the void

Editor:

Enclosed is a check for \$15. I happened across your paper recently, and it seems to fill a void I've said existed for years—a reasonable socialist newspaper that doesn't alienate the working class.

—Marc Lowenthal
Columbia, Mo.

The Cruex of the matter

Editor:

Sweaty jock saps we can do without. I am referring to Mark Naison's sports column (*ITT*, July 6). Mark "hubba hubba" Naison's attack on Mushberger-Barry is scurrilous and vindictive. He works himself into a foamy Gillette lather over network racism and uses this as a pretext for a back-handed slap at my two favorite sportscasters. Cheap, Naison, Cheap.

But my real quarrel is elsewhere. Naison says he plans to attend an "interesting" anti-apartheid tennis demonstration and warns us that "Tony Trabert, who attacked anti-apartheid demonstrators with a tennis racket during a Davis Cup match against South Africa, is my personal target." Target for what? What are you gonna do Naison, stuff a tennis ball down his throat?

Yeah, I bet you're tough, real tough. What with biceps flexing and chest thumping, it's getting mighty sweaty in here. Take some advice. Get some CRUEX, kid. Maybe that'll soothe the itch to display your macho for the rest of us.

—Robert Schaeffer
Binghamton, N.Y.

Our error

Editor:

Re: "Women athletes narrowing the gap" (*ITT*, June 22). Dr. Leroy Walker is track coach at North Carolina Central University, a predominantly black institution of the state university system, not at the University of North Carolina.

In this state to say "University of North Carolina" implies UNC-Chapel Hill, the predominant, or I should say, dominating branch of the system. By virtue of an extravagant budget and biased sports media coverage (there's even a "Tarheel Sports Network") UNC-CH has managed to obscure the fine sports programs of other state colleges and universities, including the excellent track program headed by Walker at NCCU.

—Larry Bostian
Durham, N.C.

In defense of Trotskyism

Editor:

I've seen some positive comments in *ITT* about Communist parties, Social Democratic organizations and others. But whenever you mention Trotskyists, it's all bad news. One example was Judy MacLean's "trot"-baiting description of the role Socialist Workers party women

played at the NOW convention (*ITT*, May 3). (Readers seeking an objective report should read Joanne Steele's coverage in the May 14 issue of *Majority Report*.) The ideas of the SWP NOW members—for militant actions focusing on the rights of working-class women and women of oppressed minorities—are more relevant than ever with the growing attacks on women's rights since the NOW convention.

More recently (*ITT*, June 22), Dorothy Healey, the former-CP member of the New American Movement, is quoted as saying: "Equally tragic is the Trotskyist position, always for socialism except where it exists." This quip originated in the 1930s, when Leon Trotsky's criticisms of Stalinism in the USSR were portrayed by the Communist party as "attacks on socialism." Trotsky—who had been a leader of the Russian Revolution—supported all socialist gains in the USSR, and he broke with any would-be followers who refused to defend that country whenever it was threatened by imperialism. But he insisted that the Soviet bureaucratic dictatorship was not a "socialist gain" and should be overthrown by the Russian people. Trotskyist calls for socialist democracy in the USSR, China and other workers' states today are hardly a rejection of "socialism where it exists."

—Paul Le Blanc
Albany, N.Y.

And now, Eastern Montana

Editor:

Enclosed please find my check. I'll be moving from Missoula to Miles City in a couple weeks and want to keep up with what's going on. There are lots of people here in Missoula who share my political beliefs and concerns, but few in eastern Montana that I'm aware of. So I hope *IN THESE TIMES* will help keep me informed and give me support.

—Marie A. Root
Miles City, Mont.

Conservative, but...

Editor:

I have now received *IN THESE TIMES* for two weeks. On each occasion I have been sent double copies.

Kindly nudge your computer and send me only one issue.

Although I am a staunch conservative your paper does have appeal to me. Wishing you continued success.

—A. Richard Kern
Lexington, Ky.

Refreshing

Editor:

I recently purchased an issue of your paper at the Common Market cooperative here in Denver. What a refreshing change from the dogmatic and slogan filled leftist papers I've seen before! I will be waiting for further issues at the co-op.

—Howard Hornstadt
Denver, Colo.

Bravo!

Editor:

Bravo! to the exceptional cultural coverage in *IN THESE TIMES*. As a friend said the other day: this country needs a renaissance like it needs a revolution. *IN THESE TIMES* is contributing to both.

—George A. Dunn
Horissant, Mo.

Bella Bella

Editor:

Matthew Edel's article on New York City (*ITT*, June 22) was a cogent analysis of the NYC budget crisis. There can be little doubt about the hegemony of corporate interests in the determination of fiscal management and priorities. Clearly human needs are being sacrificed at the altar of Mayor Beame's program of "fiscal responsibility." It should be clear to all that when education, day care, police and fire protection, health care, etc. budgets are slashed the poor and working class bear the brunt.

But I must take issue with the statement that none of Beame's opponents in the Democratic primary campaign are articulating a critique of Beame's collusion with the wealthy and corporate interests. "Little can change under his successor," concludes Edel. I must assume that this means progressives and democratic socialists should turn their attentions elsewhere. I disagree. Former Rep. Bella Abzug is articulating a vision of a rejuvenated New York that could provide decent housing, health care, mass transit, and employment by investment of the city's money in areas such as the South Bronx or parts of Brooklyn to preserve and develop neighborhoods currently redlined and with no access to private monies. The point is to invest in the people of New York rather than in huge publicly subsidized apartments for the wealthy or a new multi-million dollar convention center such as Beame is now proposing.

The electoral process (and Bella Abzug's campaign in particular in my opinion) can serve as one way to restore the policy-making function of this city to the people and their elected representatives, rather than mandating the Emergency Financial Control Board, the banks, Beame and the regular Democratic machine to make social decisions from corporate anti-social priorities. Yes, it will be a long struggle against these entrenched interests but to claim that it makes no difference who sits as Mayor of New York seems incredibly purist and runs counter to my own perceptions and, I suspect, to those of most New Yorkers.

—Patrick Lucefield
New York

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Jack Clark

Against "Cowboys" and "Yankees" socialists support one nation

Robert Carson is absolutely right that the left pays too little attention to the problems of regionalism, and his recent columns on the Sunbelt are a service in extending and deepening this discussion. As we approach the subject looking for the implications of the regional divisions and their meaning for a socialist strategy, we unfortunately find that too much of the discussion on regionalism has been shaped by the spectacular but biased and overstated work of Kirkpatrick Sale.

If one were to reduce Sale's *Power Shift* to an oversimplified precis, the Sunbelt, stretching from the Carolinas to California, is the new and growing center of national wealth and production. Within that Sunbelt, politics, though varied in their particulars, are uniformly backward, and the native elite of "Cowboys" is posing a direct threat to the older ruling strata in the Northeast, the "Yankees."

That makes for a terrific plot-line in either a conspiracy theory or a novel, but the thesis just does not hold up under scrutiny. Sale's work and the whole ensuing discussion have been marred by a direct and blatant anti-Southern bias and by an unwillingness or inability to explore the continuing class divisions in American society.

First, the Sunbelt is not, despite some common usage, the same thing as the South. Between Atlanta and Los Angeles, there are vast cultural, historical, political and economic differences. With its highly-developed (and now aging) industrial plant, heavy unionization and relatively generous welfare-state spending and the high unemployment it continues to suf-

fer through the current recession, California has much more in common with older industrial state economies in the Midwest and Northeast than it has with Texas, Georgia or Florida.

Those states and other Sunbelt areas like Arizona and Oklahoma are much closer economically and politically to New Hampshire, Nebraska and Idaho than they are to California. They're all characterized by low wages, weak unions, growing populations, a developing (rather than a developed) industrial economy and a conservative political atmosphere that the business press likes to call "a favorable investment climate."

Official hostility to unions is part of that pro-business attitude, but active state hostility to workers' organizing is only part of it. Dallas business professor Bernard Weinstein, a Sunbelt booster and recognized authority on the subject of regional economics, identifies a range of state services to business such as economic research bureaus, tax incentives (which economists agree have no significant economic impact), help in locating or relocating within a state and so forth as concrete indications of pro-business attitudes on the part of state officials. The largest single factor other than low unionization, though, is low levels of state spending on human services with resulting low levels of taxation on personal income. Weinstein sees tax levels on personal income of executives as one of the most significant advantages a state like Texas has over a state like New York. *Business Week* and *Fortune* agree.

Not only do low levels of spending and taxation boost executive take-home pay (which is important enough), official state

stinginess is a powerful tool in the "full employment" program advanced by reactionary capital and its allies. They keep spending for welfare low, make unemployment compensation stingy and difficult to receive. They even refuse federal aid for food stamps because it will weaken the moral fiber of poor people. They follow all these policies in areas where poor people exist in very large numbers (an absolute majority of the poor live in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy), many of whom live in depressed rural areas where federal subsidies to Senator-farmers and agribusiness have excluded thousands from the local economy. The result is a vast reserve labor pool willing to work far below wage scales in Detroit or Buffalo, and without the fringes and basic rights that come with unionization. That's a very good climate for investment.

Places like New York City cannot compete on those terms. Nor can California, nor any of the more developed states. Which leads us to the historic split in the capitalist class: Cowboys vs. Yankees. The tales of their struggle have been spun amply in many other places, and I have no desire to trace or refute the many theories here. Rather, I state my point baldly: the identity of interests between capitalists North and South is far stronger than their regional tendencies to compete.

New York bankers demand an end to egalitarian and "wasteful" spending: on free tuition and open admissions at the City University, on subsidized mass transit fares and on relatively decent wages and pensions for city employees. Their reactionary program seems realistic rather

than utopian because a large and growing section of the economy lags far behind New York in these rather minimal welfare state benefits.

Take the case of J.P. Stevens. All IN THESE TIMES readers must be familiar with the Clothing and Textile Workers' long struggle against this retrograde Southern exploiter. But this "Southern company is headquartered on Sixth Avenue in Manhattan, and the capital that keeps this outlaw corporation going comes from distinctly Yankee finance institutions like Metropolitan Life Insurance, New York Life and Manufacturers' Hanover Trust. Northern money and Northern industrial capacity are flowing South not because there's a latter-day Copperhead faction on the Yankee side of the new war between the states but because the dual economic and political system tends to depress wages and undermine welfare-state gains in Chicago and New York as well as in New Hampshire and South Carolina. Whatever the regional rivalries, that situation strengthens the position of capital and weakens the position of workers and consumers.

Against this practice of cut-throat regional competition, which damages the vast majority of the population, socialists must stand for one nation, united in its commitment to support workers' and consumers' rights. I'll explore the federal role in regional divisions and the ways we can approach new regional policies in my next column.

Jack Clark is the national secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. His column will appear regularly.

Arthur Kinoy quits sponsorship of In These Times

[This letter is an abridged version of a longer letter sent to In These Times at the end of April.]

A year ago at your request I agreed to join a group of sponsors for a proposed socialist newspaper. I agreed to do so because I was then, and remain today, deeply convinced that the encouragement of the building of those forms of organization of popular struggle that lead to a decisive break with the capitalist class and the two-party system through which it has traditionally maintained its rule is crucial to the future of the people's movement.

The recent issues of the paper now compel me to request that my name be removed from the list of "sponsors." The embracing of the politics of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which has consistently seen work within the Democratic party as the central and, as so often expressed by its leader, Michael Harrington, the sole legitimate arena for political activity of so-called socialists, has now gone qualitatively further than the "reporting" of trends or "developments" within the left. The paper itself now rejects and places itself in opposition to what many of us have come to believe is the crucial strategy for the period ahead—the conscious development of transitional forms to the emergence of a mass based party of the people that will decisively break with the classic capitalist form of political rule in this country—the two-party system, and will contest capitalist rule in every arena of struggle, political, economic, social, cultural as well as electoral and legislative.

In recent issues, IN THESE TIMES embraces the myopic vision of Harrington that in some way "socialists" mysteriously will be able in the remote future

to "gain control" of the Democratic party or take it over through an equally mysterious process of "realignment of American politics." This appears to me to be an incredible repetition of disastrous mistakes made by so many in the North American left in the '30s, '40s and '50s. During that period the perspective of conscious building of political forms of organizing leading to a break with the two-party system was shelved for the "future" in favor of what became known euphemistically as "mainstream" politics—a reliance upon the "liberal" wing of the ruling class and its political organ, the Democratic party. The result was the submergence and then destruction of those groups and individuals moving in the direction of an anti-capitalist and then socialist mass political movement. When IN THESE TIMES now openly rejects any

interests of the working and oppressed peoples of this country served through such an alliance with capital or the two-party system through which it rules. It is a disservice to the people's movement for IN THESE TIMES to undercut and scoff at the unfolding of a strategy based upon breaking away from the two-party system of capitalism as a tactic which "would leave socialists talking to themselves" (ITT, March).

As a member of the Political Council of the Mass Party Organizing Committee and as its chairperson, I cannot continue as "sponsor" of such a political approach. The unfolding of a strategy that is based upon the emergence of transitional forms that can lead to the development of a mass based, independent political party of the working and oppressed peoples is neither narrow, sectarian, "posturing," nor "moral elit-

blown suddenly out of someone's head. We, too, are concerned that the strategy we apply not result in socialists talking only to themselves. But it will not emerge spontaneously. It will not emerge out of reliance upon some magical transformation of a capitalist party. Socialists should share in building the organizational forms today that express the strategy, are committed to developing it and to teaching its necessity wherever masses of people are—in their workplaces, and their organizations, their communities, and even in the Democratic party where they may still remain. Transitional forms of political struggle must be built in which working people, blacks, Third World people, oppressed women, learn the power of their united strength against their common enemy, the capitalist class and the state and parties through which it maintains its power.

Other considerations.

It is difficult in one letter to raise all the many considerations a question of this importance warrants. In future, for example, I would like to discuss the question of how a true political party of the working people would utilize all opportunities provided by bourgeois democracy, including the electoral and legislative arenas, to strengthen the people's movements, to expose and isolate the representatives and institutions of capitalism, not to collaborate with and support these institutions. Yes, it is necessary to work with the masses of working people who remain confused and tied to the structures of the Democratic party. But it is to betray these masses of honest working people to continued capitalist oppression not to, now, not 20 years from now, begin to develop those political organizational forms that will say daily, in life and struggle, to the masses of people wherever they are, that the future lies in the building of a political party of their own, a political party dedicated to the struggle against the system that grinds them down every day of their lives—not a political party dedicated to its essence to the preservation of that system.

It is with great reluctance that I have come to the conclusion that I must withdraw from sponsorship of IN THESE TIMES. The direction the paper is taking is unhappily typical of a tendency within

DIALOG

In These Times has begun to commit itself to past disasters.

motion towards what it characterizes as a "third party" it begins to commit itself to the disasters that overtook the North American left in the past, permitting the "work within the Democratic party" to smother the seeds of the only development that can lead to both an effective united defense of the people's immediate interests and the preparation for the most critical political struggle of all—the struggle for state power—through the beginnings of a conscious break with the two-party system leading to the emergence of a real, mass-based party of the working people.

Socialist future.

The future of the rebuilding of the socialist movement in this country does not lie in reliance upon any long term alliance with the "liberal" wing of the ruling class. Nor are the fundamental

ism" (ITT, March 23). The statement of Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther party, while a delegate to the Democratic convention last July that "it is time the black people, working people and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people build a political party of their own," and the last statement of James Matles, the experienced working-class leader of the United Electrical Workers, made the day of his sad and untimely death a year and a half ago, that what the working people of this country need is a "mass political party of their own," do not reflect "posturing" or "moral elitism."

Mass Party Organizing Committee

We in the Mass Party Organizing Committee understand full well that a mass based political party of the working and oppressed peoples will not emerge full

the North American left, born out of disillusion and defeatism, that is leading some people to opt for a course of conduct that seems more "realistic," more accepting of "realities," but that actually results in taking the "easy way out"—the abandonment of the struggle, hard as it may seem at the moment, to break with the capitalist two-party system. I regret that IN THESE TIMES seems to have adopted an approach that does not advance the struggle for socialist consciousness and real working people's struggles. I would hope and expect that debate and dialogue can continue on these questions and that IN THESE TIMES, if it does, restores the hopes and expectations of a year ago and seriously reconsiders the political path it has started to follow.

Arthur Kinoy

Editor's reply: The two-party system is moving toward a crisis of realignment

We are sorry that Arthur Kinoy finds himself in a position where he must resign from sponsorship of IN THESE TIMES. Despite differences with him, we consider our purposes to be compatible. We hope the following comments will clarify some of the issues Kinoy has raised.

First, our position. We are committed to the creation of a consciously socialist majority in the U.S., manifested

in a political party. We are *not* committed to any organization or to any preconceived set of tactics. Anyone who does not have a religious faith in one of the multitude of American left sects must know that there is no single path to a socialist majority in the U.S. Indeed, in a country with a working class as highly developed and diverse as is the American working class, this is impossible.

Because of our commitment to a socialist majority movement we support all activities that bring socialist ideas and programs into the public arena, from which socialist politics have long been absent. This is the aspect of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's politics that we agree with and wish to help strengthen. In our editorial on DSOC and the California Campaign for Economic Democracy, we said that those who "have shown the greatest enthusiasm about building these organizations have been pushing both groups toward an open socialist politics without threatening the perspective of either to be a part of the mainstream of American politics." It is this aspect of these movements with which we identify.

This does not mean that we oppose third party activity. We do oppose the activity of groups that trot out a token campaign every four years, designed only to give themselves a little publicity and to recruit a few members, but not to create a sustained socialist presence in American life.

Realignment.

We believe that the two-party system is moving toward a crisis of realignment, and that in this period it is necessary for socialists to work in all areas of struggle in our society with the perspective of creating a major party of socialism. This view allows for the growth of both a socialist tendency within the Democratic party and independent socialist politics, especially at this time on

the local level and in running for legislative office.

The two-party system.

Kinoy writes of building forms of popular struggle that can lead to a "decisive break with the capitalist class and the two-party system through which it has traditionally maintained its rule." We submit that he is confusing two things: the capitalist class, its power and ideology, on the one hand, and its parti-

they plan to stop their Democratic party activity.

As for Matles, he was a great labor leader, one of the most skilled and principled on the left. After his almost 40 years as a leader of UE, however, his union's members show no increased signs of socialist consciousness. This is no reflection on Matles' integrity or ability. He was a trade union leader who left political initiative to others. But neither does it make his vague statement,

DIALOG

A major party of Socialism is needed, but to have a third party as our goal is to assure failure. Like it or not, we live in a two-party system.

cular form of rule (the two-party system), on the other.

It is, of course, true that American capitalists have maintained their rule through the two-party system, just as European capitalists have maintained their rule through the multi-party system. The recently growing power of the Western European left has been the result of working realistically within the framework of the parliamentary system in Europe. The continuing weakness of the American left, we believe, is related to its failure to comprehend and take seriously the nature of our own political system.

In any case, Kinoy's analogy of DSOC and the American left's relation to the Democratic party in the '30s, '40s and '50s is fallacious. So are his understandings of Elaine Brown's and James Matles' remarks, and of the role of third parties in this country.

First, the left and the Democratic party. The left's subordination of socialist politics in participating in the Democratic party in earlier decades was real enough. The key point, however, was not the left's participation in Democratic party politics, but its abandonment of a concept of socialism appropriate to American society. In this respect DSOC has exactly the opposite approach from the earlier left. DSOC participates in Democratic politics, but as socialists and with the intention of creating a socialist tendency within that party. It is precisely this difference that we support.

Second, Elaine Brown, the Panthers, and James Matles. True, Elaine Brown's statement is not posturing or moral elitism. Neither is it Panther party politics. As Kinoy mentioned, the statement was made by Brown when she was a delegate to the Democratic convention. That it reflects frustration with the course of events at that convention is apparent. But the Panthers have participated and continue to participate in Democratic politics in Oakland, Calif. Their strength in that community is largely a result of that participation (combined with their work in the community). So far, the Panthers have given no indication that

quoted by Kinoy, a guide to our work. We share Matles' belief that the working people of this country need "a mass political party of their own." The disagreement, if there is any (and as far as Matles is concerned we can never know), is over how to achieve that goal.

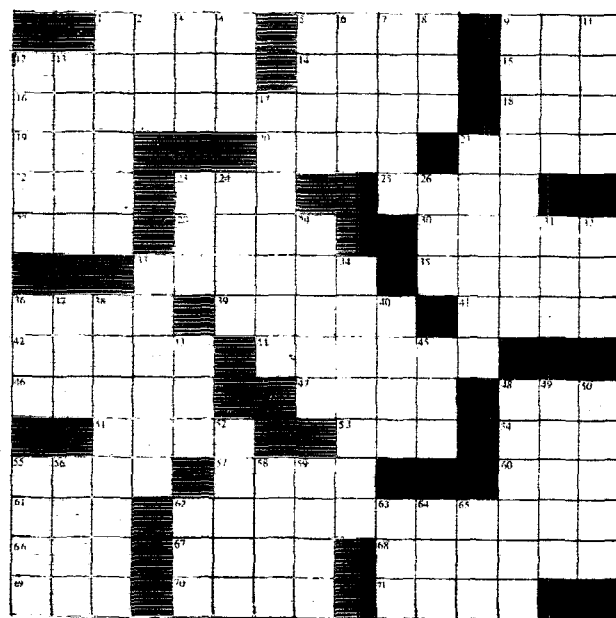
Third parties.

Kinoy's alternative to electoral activity within the Democratic party is to move now toward a third party. But if the left's historical experience in the Democratic party has led to subordination, third party experience has been equally discouraging. There have been several non-socialist but leftist third party attempts in modern times—the Populists in 1892, the Progressive party of 1912, the LaFollette Progressives in 1924 and the Henry Wallace Progressive party in 1948. None of these were "anti-capitalist," in the sense Kinoy uses the term. None lasted more than four years as serious movements. There have been, in addition, several socialist parties—the old Socialist party, the Socialist Labor party, and the Communist party (and its various splinters) and the Socialist Workers party. Of these, only the Socialist party developed a popular socialist movement. The Socialists elected mayors, councillors and other officials in more than 400 cities in the years from 1900 to 1920, and elected dozens of state legislators. But on a national scale the party never received more than six percent of the vote (for Eugene V. Debs in 1912). Impressive as that was, it would be inadequate to today's needs.

We agree entirely with Kinoy that a major party of socialism is needed today, but to think in terms of a third party as our goal is to assure failure. Like it or not, we live in a two-party political system. We must, therefore, think of how to create a socialist party as one of the two major parties. Of necessity this requires some form of major party realignment. In that process a third party might make a contribution as one of several transitional activities. We welcome any serious proposals along these lines.

Sticks and Stones...

By David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 What they call us, often preceded by: bunch of dirty
- 5 What to call someone you disagree with
- 9 Catharine or Bernadette: Abbr.
- 12 More profound
- 14 Mine, in Nice
- 15 Fascist or male chauvinist
- 16 See 5 Across
- 18 Shake a _____
- 19 Son of Bile
- 20 Ice cream container
- 21 Follows Dem
- 22 Apple or blueberry
- 23 _____, Mike
- 25 Sediment
- 27 Stint
- 28 Delapidated dialect
- 30 Page or role
- 33 Good or bad
- 35 Rapier
- 36 Living room piece
- 39 Music and Polaris
- 41 Prud
- 42 Liquefied
- 44 Accelerate

- 46 Squander
- 47 Dueling legacy
- 48 Step on the _____
- 51 Party unit
- 53 Neighbor of Tenn.
- 54 _____ Maria
- 55 Ado
- 57 Seep
- 60 Big _____
- 61 These, in Bordeaux
- 62 See 5 Across
- 66 Skill
- 67 Lima or string
- 68 Happenings
- 69 Brunch drinks: Abbr.
- 70 Unemployed
- 71 Appointment

Down:

- 1 Periodical
- 2 French ear of grain
- 3 Some, in Le Mans
- 4 Hindu title
- 5 Town in Italy
- 6 "_____ love with a wonderful ---"
- 7 These are cut off for spite

- 8 _____ and caboodle
- 9 See 5 Across
- 10 Found at Carnegie Hall
- 11 Incites (with on)
- 12 Faucet noises
- 13 Weird
- 17 Hides
- 21 Make a mistake
- 23 Direction: Abbr.
- 24 Troubles
- 26 Suffix for Shachtman, Love-stone or any personage you disagree with
- 29 Surround castles
- 31 Lap
- 32 Chicago as seen from Seattle: Abbr.
- 33 More obese
- 34 Epithet often preceded by Trotskyite
- 36 Adult female swine
- 37 Reproductive cells
- 38 See 5 Across, et al.
- 40 Foretell: Scottish
- 43 Slippery one
- 45 Ode on a Grecian _____
- 48 Girl of elfin appeal
- 49 Nautical stop
- 50 Small political groups with correct positions on everything
- 52 Cantered
- 55 Strikebreaker
- 56 Word
- 58 October birthstone
- 59 Band
- 62 Japanese sash
- 63 Nickname for Theodore
- 64 Pulp fruit
- 65 Court divider

Solution to last week's puzzle.

FLYING FUN FLAKE
SAMOA LYE OUTER
AMERICAN WORKING
SER LAWRENCE
ISLE REE SSW
COTO EDITED EME
ORAL MARKO DEL
WOMEN KRA XANDALL
LIE KEAS ETTTE
EDS DOSSIDO LESS
DET EHS ERLE
TRIANGLE GAB
GORDON REVERBY
DORTA TOWERIE
BASSY LEE SESSES

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

Huey Newton returns to stand trial

Newton predicts that he will be acquitted, even if his trial is unfair.

By Jill Breslau

On his arrival at San Francisco Airport last week, fugitive Black Panther party founder and leader Huey P. Newton told a jubilant crowd of close to 500 party members and community activists awaiting his return that he was "not guilty of anything."

Newton was originally scheduled to be arrested on the plane, but was given 10 minutes to speak to supporters before departing for Oakland to surrender himself to Alameda county authorities.

Flanked by his wife and party chairperson Elaine Brown, Newton told supporters and the media that, while it would be difficult for him to get a fair trial, "I've never received a fair trial," it didn't mean he would not be acquitted. "I will be acquitted in spite of an unfair trial."

Charged with the August 1974 murder of a 17-year-old Oakland girl and with the pistol whipping of an Oakland tailor, Newton forfeited a \$42,000 bail and later surfaced in Cuba, from where he maintained contact with the party.

In addition to the felony charges against him, Newton also told the crowd that when he left, there was a \$10,000 contract on his head, put there by heroin dealers. He then announced, "I am not easily intimidated."

Newton stated his intention to call on newly elected Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson to declare a war on heroin dealers, to make medical care available and to create jobs for the unemployed because "amidst all this wealth we cannot even fully employ our people." He urged that "all the people join together in establishing a just and democratic society."

At the conclusion of his remarks Newton left for Oakland and jail accompanied by his wife, Brown and attorney Sheldon Otis. He's being held without bail.

Newton's return culminates months of planning and negotiations between party lawyers and judicial authorities. One concession made during the negotiations was dismissal of the federal charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

Following his arrival in Canada on June 25 and until his return to San Francisco, Newton conferred with Brown, Otis and Fred Hiestand, attorney for the Black Panther party lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and other federal agencies and officials. The lawsuit alleges among other things, governmental conspiracy in the murders of party members, attempts to harass and neutralize party programs such as the nationally known breakfast program, and attempts to destroy the party's financial resources.

The entourage traveling with Newton also included Oscar-winning film producer Bert Schneider, a major supporter and financial backer of the party and a plaintiff in the party's lawsuit.

Jill Breslau is a free lance writer and member of the Bay Area bureau of *In These Times*.



Huey Newton (center) at the San Francisco Airport shortly after he spoke and was to be escorted to the Alameda County jail. Behind him on the right is his wife Gwen and on her right is Elaine Brown.

ALBUM



Where are they now? Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky relaxing in his Southern California home.

Photo by Richard Paup

WOMEN

Parables and storytelling

Readers of "Generations: Women in the South," the latest issue of *Southern Exposure*, is like going home—whether or not you live in the South. Not only to the active, crowded, busy homes of the Southern women who fill the issue, but to ancestral homes, to mama and grandma.

"The Fourth Generation of Proud Nieces," by 61-year-old Pauli Murray, is typical. Murray, a co-founder of NOW, a writer, an ACLU attorney and the first black woman priest in the Episcopal church, does not write about her own formidable achievements. As a Southern woman raised in a part of the country that teaches by parable, she takes us home to meet her Aunt Pauline, who taught her not to "pass" for anything.

Before the turn of the century, Aunt Pauline, who was very light-skinned herself, was married to a blue-eyed Howard University graduate who crossed the color barrier and became a successful "white" lawyer. He begged his wife to join him, but Aunt Pauline refused. Instead, she returned to the house in Durham where her niece brings us.

Through her description of her Aunt Pauline, Murray shares with us the experience of this self-sufficient woman and her family's faith in education, which is the reason why, to use the language of parable, Murray can "walk in proud shoes."

Southern women and civil rights.

In a brilliant, explosive piece adapted from her forthcoming book, *Personal*

Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left (to be published by A.A. Knopf), historian Sara Evans writes about Southern white women who involved themselves in the civil rights struggle of the '60s, especially that part of the struggle where the battleground was "home."

Evans does not bring us into comfortable houses. She shares the anguished and sometimes cruel responses the young women civil rights workers got from parents who had trouble coping with their daughters' attacks on racial and sexual taboos.

She writes about the "freedom houses" that seem less "free" because male co-workers tended to assume that the housework would be done by the women, and about the isolation of white women from black women, who were angered by black men's relationships with the whites.

But she also writes about women like herself finding a new home, learning from older black women, militant, outspoken community leaders, who provided new role models for women brought up to be Southern Belles. These older black women helped the younger whites cope with living with "an intensity of fear they had never known before."

Evans writes about two white civil rights workers who sat down in the fall of 1965—when the role of white women in the movement was declining in response to growing black nationalism—to reflect on their experience and feelings. They wrote a memo about the "sex-caste system" they had observed.

The two women thought that "the

Reading

"Generations" is like going home—not only to the busy homes of the Southern women, but to ancestral homes, to mama and grandma.

chances seemed nil that we could start a movement based on anything as distant to general American thought as a sex-caste system," but a month after mailing the memo, women who had read it staged an angry walk-out at a national SDS conference, reacting to male response. That debate, Evans says, led to the founding of the women's movement two years later.

Evans writes about her own generation of Southern feminists, but she also describes a process of generating, the bringing into being of a movement, the creating of a force that reaches into future generations.

Deviation and creation.

"Generations" also offers generous servings of Southern cultural life: "cooking, quilting, making do." It brings us intimate fiction and photographs and an invaluable bibliography. It takes us back to the kitchens of Southern homes for the bawdy humor of Southern women. Even this has been passed on from generation to generation; Rayna Green, who wrote "Magnolias Grow in Dirt," gleaned much of her bawdy lore from her Texan grandmother.

Music is not forgotten either for, as much as parables and story-telling, it is an integral part of Southern life. But when Len Stanley, a longtime feminist activist from North Carolina and a staff member of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, writes about the music of Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard, she also writes about much more. Dickens, the daughter of a

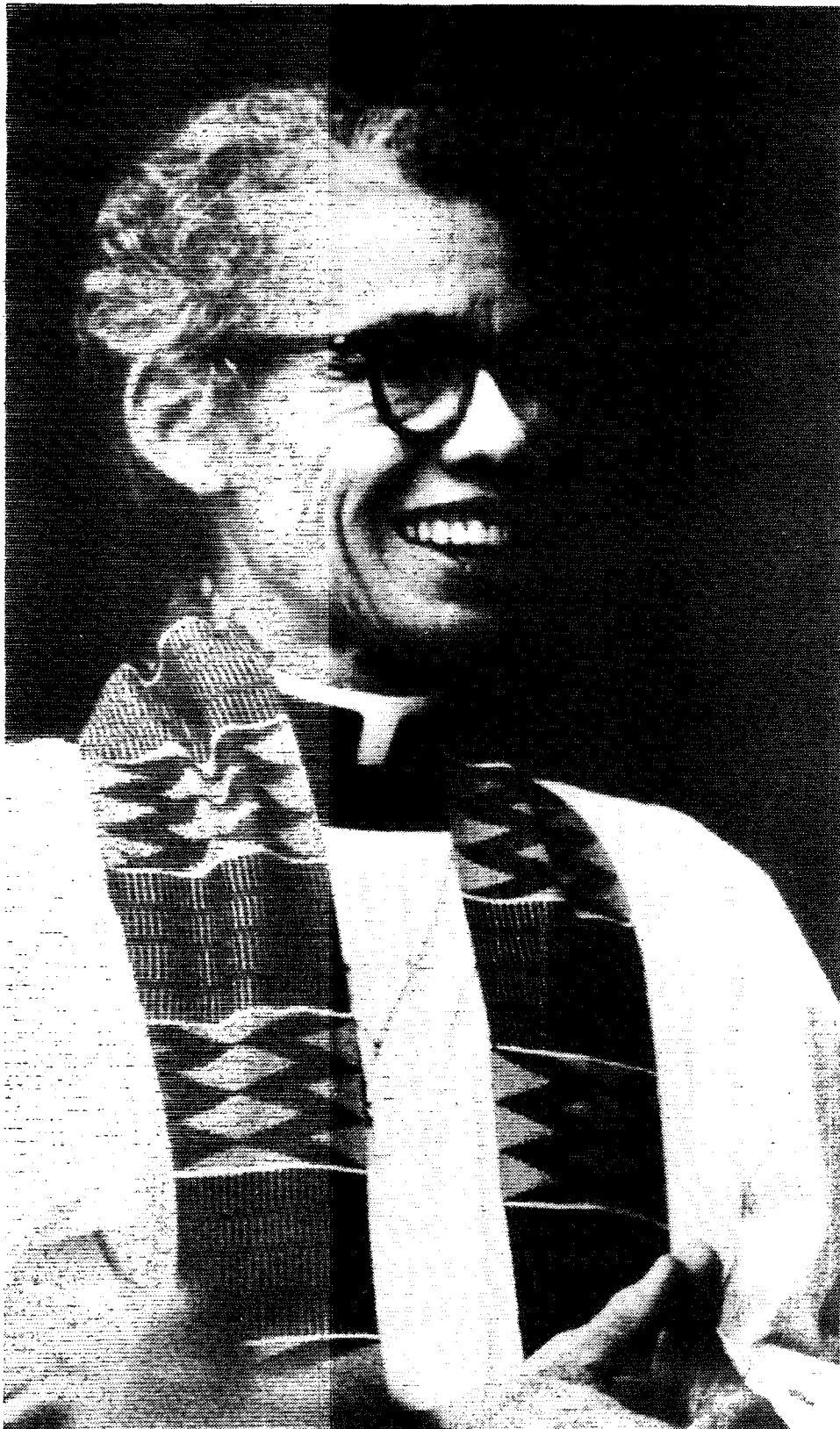
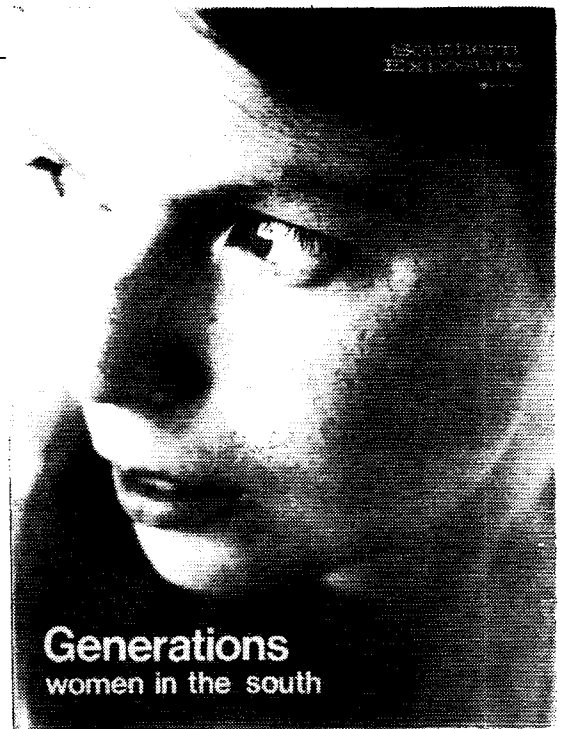
West Virginia miner, and Gerrard, a college-educated folksinger from California, each credit "the other's support and encouragement as the primary reason they can create their own kind of music."

Stanley's article about a Southern woman and a Californian comes towards the end of the issue, when the strength of the bond between generations of Southern women is poignantly clear. Her hospitable, out-reaching article lets the reader, like me, born North of the Mason-Dixon know that this Southern richness, like potluck suppers, is for sharing.

Finishing the issue, what stays with me is the same feeling I had when I first met Southern women activists. I was and am struck by their wholeness. I had never thought, before reading this issue, to look at this trait in terms of generation, both in the sense of being derived from the past and also in the sense of creating.

What "Generations" is telling us (as a Northerner I still have the compulsion to attempt to "translate" parables) is that having a sense of "generation" means being able to go home (even with strangers in tow), explore every nook and cranny with great caring and then go on to build and live in a new house of our own hard-hewn making.

"Generations: Women in the South" is available from *Southern Exposure*, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC, 27514, \$2.50. Mimi Conway is a freelance writer in North Carolina.



Stephen March

Pauli Murray is the first black woman priest in the Episcopal church, a co-founder of NOW, and an ACLU attorney.

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President Arnold Miller (center) with Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick and Vice-President Mike Trbovich.

Mineworkers

Continued from page 7.

A final factor is the increasing militancy of young miners who now comprise about half the 180,000 union members. Many are unmarried, or married with a small family, and do not share the hard-work ethic of their forefathers. With an expanding coal industry, their jobs are also more secure than in past decades.

Are wildcats effective?

But some observers question the effectiveness of the wildcat strike. The wildcat is "virtually worthless" to enforce contract provisions, says Bethell. Though it lets off collective steam, miners suffer because they lose paychecks and industry payments to their Health and Retirement Funds. A UMW strike this year will bankrupt the existing funds if it runs for more than two weeks, he predicts.

For a coal company, however, an unexpected shutdown represents "an irritation, an inconvenience," Bethell writes in *Coal Patrol*. "But coal lying in the ground does not depreciate in value—just the opposite. Most companies have long since learned to discount their production projections to allow for work stoppages."

Bethell believes that a slowdown, "staying on the job and working to the rules," a tactic popular with British and Canadian miners, would place more pressure on operators without eating away at miners' incomes.

But the "loading air routine" requires a high degree of discipline and cooperation to succeed in a coal mine where miners work in isolated eight or nine person groups under close supervision. "A slowdown is also boring," comments Bruce Boyens, "since the work goes faster if you actually work. But it's very effective if you can pull it off."

A wildcat, according to Boyens, is not just a spontaneous outburst of rank-and-file rage, but a powerful weapon if wielded by experienced leadership. "The company knows they're coming and doesn't do anything about them. Their success depends on the quality of the leadership."

Local right to strike.

The solution, he says, is winning the right to strike over local grievances, a contract provision that would lessen the ability of roving pickets to pull out mines not directly affected by the specific issue, and in a comprehensive education/training program for miners on their union rights and duties.

Arnold Miller is committed to pushing for the local right to strike in upcoming negotiations. His handling of past wildcats has received very poor ratings because of his reluctance to travel to areas where festering grievances are about to burst into strikes. Union observers also note that he feels uncomfortable with young miners and seems unreceptive to their complaints.

Western coal.

The frequency of wildcats, some observers contend, has also contributed to a long-range industry trend—the move of companies to strip mine the western coal

fields. Unless Miller aggressively tackles this runaway phenomenon, the membership base of the union will slowly be shoved out from under him.

The western fields present numerous advantages for coal operators. The region contains two-thirds of the country's stripable coal, about 26 billion tons. This coal—in high demand because of its low sulfur content—is close to the surface and runs in seams up to 150 feet thick. With modern earth-movers, huge quantities can be extracted with little manpower.

This high productivity means that companies can pay top dollar to avoid unions and work stoppages. Unlike the east, many miners there have no union tradition. "They have worked for ranchers and in the oil fields and their income jumps when they work for the mines," says Jay Kolenc, the union's western organizing director.

The UMW also faces competition from the International Union of Operating Engineers, a construction union that ordinarily represents heavy equipment operators. As more construction companies move into strip mining they readily accept the union that has provided their man-power in the past. Since the companies don't have to contribute to an Operating Engineers' health and retirement fund, they often pay higher wages than at UMW mines.

Western mines account for one out of every two tons of new coal slated for production between now and 1985. The production of coal under UMW contract has slipped from 74 percent in 1962 to 54 percent today.

Future in West.

"They're going to have to recognize that the western region is the future of this union. This is a whole new area where the seams are thicker and the machinery more sophisticated," Frank Vincent, a former UMW organizer in Montana, told *IN THESE TIMES*. A lack of money and support from the Miller administration has held back union progress there, he says. Only 10 full-time organizers now cover six western states.

Miller has also failed to push for a jurisdictional agreement with the Operating Engineers and believes that western UMW members must be brought into the national contract.

His union critics disagree. "There's absolutely no way we will ever organize the west with an eastern contract," says Harry Patrick, who holds that contracts should be negotiated on a regional or mine-by-mine basis. He was the only candidate to strongly emphasize the winning of the West.

To even approach this vast organizing task and confront the challenge of wildcat strikes, Miller will have to regain the respect of rank-and-file miners and of coal companies. As Patrick once remarked: "Our union must recognize no boundaries. We must bind ourselves together, East and West, North and South... To the multinational energy companies, coal is coal. If we are to face them united, we must stop letting them divide us by ceasing to be divided among ourselves." ■

Eurocommunism

Continued from page 11.

sympathetic way, asserting that distortions in Soviet communism crept in because of historical backwardness, and international isolation—unlike the Chinese who see a diabolical restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

Answer from "the left."

Soviet national pride might be bruised by Eurocommunist criticisms, and the Soviet party is certainly not used to such uppity behavior on the part of once-loyal and deferential comrades. There are, however, issues of great substance raised by the stance of the Eurocommunists.

The Soviets are addressing those issues, even if at bottom they do so from self-serving motives. And they are addressing the issues from the "left," implying that the Eurocommunists are flirting with "revisionist," "opportunist," and class collaborationist positions that disarm the workers' movements.

In a little-reported article in *Pravda* last March, A Soviet commentator analyzed "The Historic Mission of the Working Class." While condemning "a number of Communist parties in Europe and other parts of the world" for advancing the notion of "intermediate stages and transitional forms on the path to socialism, taking the specific conditions of each country into account," he also warned that "it would be naive to think that through an

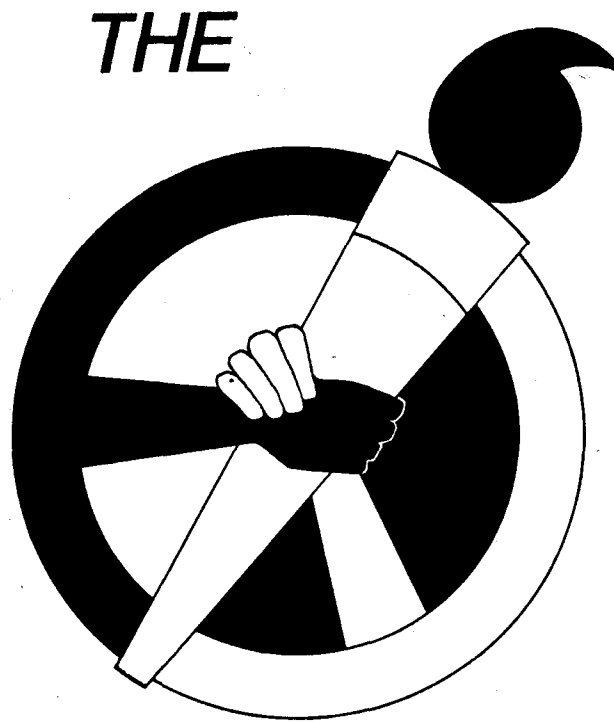
electoral victory the working class and the working people will obtain a state that will faithfully serve their interests. Real power in a society belongs to those who control the economic reins, the governmental apparatus and the army. And this power belongs to the bourgeoisie. Wrestling real power from the bourgeoisie is an extremely difficult undertaking."

Invoking the fatal Chile experiment, the Soviet commentator asserts that "historical experience has shown that it is impossible to arrive at socialism within the framework of a bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy."

These and other issues have now become the yeast of an international ideological ferment on the left. Old texts are being re-interpreted (what did Marx mean by the "dictatorship of the proletariat"? Where does Lenin really stand on the subject of the state and revolution?). Old ideas are being reinvigorated (socialism is unthinkable without democracy). More important, new ideas and new perspectives are being unwound to fit new conditions and new possibilities. This is all to the good; socialist thought must be clear of dogma and canonized orthodoxy.

Santiago Carrillo, who is fond of analogies drawn from the history of European Catholicism, wrote last week that "the world communist movement is no longer a church and Moscow is no longer Rome." Amen.

Democratic Socialism is not an abstract idea which is detailed in a party program and offered to the people on a take it or leave it basis. Socialism will develop only as we learn from practical experience to replace private profit with democratically controlled production and allocation based on social need.



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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Recommended
Records

ROCK

ROCK & ROLL WITH THE
MODERN LOVERSJonathan Richman & the Modern Lovers
Berserkley/CBS RecordsMINK DEVILLE
Mink DeVille

Capitol Records

The Modern Lovers and Mink DeVille are two East coast groups of the "punk" persuasion who began their vinyl careers with prodigious debuts on a pair of anthology/collective records. From that point they have taken off in very different directions.

The Modern Lovers are the sole creation of Jonathan Richman, a native Houstonian whose name acquired instant cult status when John Cale recorded his song "Pablo Picasso," which contained the immortal rhyme: "Some people try to pick up girls and they get stuck in holes / this never happened to Pablo Picasso."

In 1975, Berserkley Records released *Churubusters*, an oddball album of bits and samples by several obscure bands. On this disc, Richman established himself as champion of the unusual, with four selections including the classic ode to the highway, "Road Runner" and the catchy "New Teller":

*There's only 3 in the other line
And in my line I count 11.
But I don't mind, 'cause I'm in
heaven*

*I got a crush on the new teller
She looks at me, and she knows.*

After his flashy debut, Richman went on to put out three albums with The Modern Lovers, each descending a rung lower in quality. With *Rock & Roll With The Modern Lovers* he has finally hit Rock bottom.

A tendency toward artificial cuteness that previously surfaced in songs like "Automatic Snowman in the Supermarket" and "Hey There, Little Jesus!" has become unrelieved silliness: disposable lyrics accompanied by ragged, weak "skiffle-band" music.

Part of Richman's early appeal was his remarkably toneless singing and the lack of technical proficiency of the Lovers. (After a year in the studio trying to discipline them for a record company, producer Cale was forced to give up.) Now the band is trying to exploit their supposed unprofessionalism. Just the effect is as flat as Richman's voice. The field is too clogged with genuine idiots for some one to not like one when he isn't.

Mink DeVille emerged as a star

act on *Live at CBGB's* with renditions of original songs in styles strongly imitative of the Stones and Velvet Underground. Their first album, *Mink DeVille*, is a worthy successor to those performances.

There isn't a bad cut on this whole record. Lead singer/songwriter Willy DeVille's volatile voice runs the course from Lou Reed to Bob Seeger to Mick Jagger to the Drifters, paying homage to the group's musical influences without getting stale or cute about it. An old Ronnettes song has been renovated while the band's original tunes are steeped in the best Rock & Roll tradition—a tricky but perfect balance that Mink pulls off without a hitch.

Because they don't sustain a single, distinctly identifiable sound like the Ramones' 45-On-78, or Blondie's early-'60s-trash-pop, Mink DeVille has been criticized as too formulated and stylized, a petty accusation in the face of the end-products like the melodic "Mixed Up Shook Up Girl" or the exuberant "Spanish Stroll." This is one album that you can play every day on both sides and not tire of for a long time.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel is a freelance writer in Chicago who reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

THE RUBINOOS

The Rubinoos
Berserkley/CBS Records

Don't listen to the doomsayers. Rock and roll is alive and well and living in the Rubinoos from Berkeley, Calif. You probably haven't heard of them yet, unless you read *Tiger Beat* (a teeny-bopper fan magazine) or watch American Bandstand. But the Rubinoos' first album shows them to be one of the best American bands to come along in years and proves that rock music need not become the exclusive preserve of the jaded and excessive.

The Rubinoos make a kind of music that is most reminiscent of the Beatles, circa 1964-1968. "Joyful" and "infectious" may be rock clichés, but they accurately describe the band's vitality. Although most of the songs are bouncy and melodic, the Rubinoos have a wide range, as is shown by "Memories," a moving ballad, and "Rock and Roll Is Dead," a satirical rocker that both parodies and pays homage to the Beatles, Stones, and the Who. They're even capable of taking the old '60s bubble-gum song, "I Think We're Alone Now," and making it sound more like the best of the Beach Boys than the average Tommy James and the Shondells.

No one should be misled into thinking that the Rubinoos' songs will shed any new light on the world's problems. Like the early and middle Beatles, they deal with the staples of rock music: the pain of courtship ("Hard to Get"); parents are a drag ("I Think We're Alone Now"); romantic bliss ("I Never Thought It Would Happen"); betrayal ("Leave My Heart Alone"); and the excruciating aftermath of a busted relationship ("Memories"). With only one exception, their songs are under 3 minutes, 21 seconds—perfect for AM radio. In the hands of some other band in our cynical '70s, these songs might not work; but the Rubinoos do them with an honesty and naturalness that is irresistible.

Lead vocalist Jon Rubin, 19, and guitarist/songwriter Tommy Dunbar, 19, are the core of the Rubinoos. Rubin's vocals are strong and entirely convincing, and Dunbar's guitar work and harmonies are always tasteful. The band's tightness and professionalism reflect the fact that they've been playing together in Berkeley since junior high school.

It may be too early for Jon, Tommy, Donn, and Royse to replace John, Paul, George, and Ringo in our hearts. But it can be said that in this album the Rubinoos have made one of the most auspicious debuts since *Meet the Beatles!*

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis is an editor of *Socialist Revolution*.

COUNTRY

A MAN MUST CARRY ON

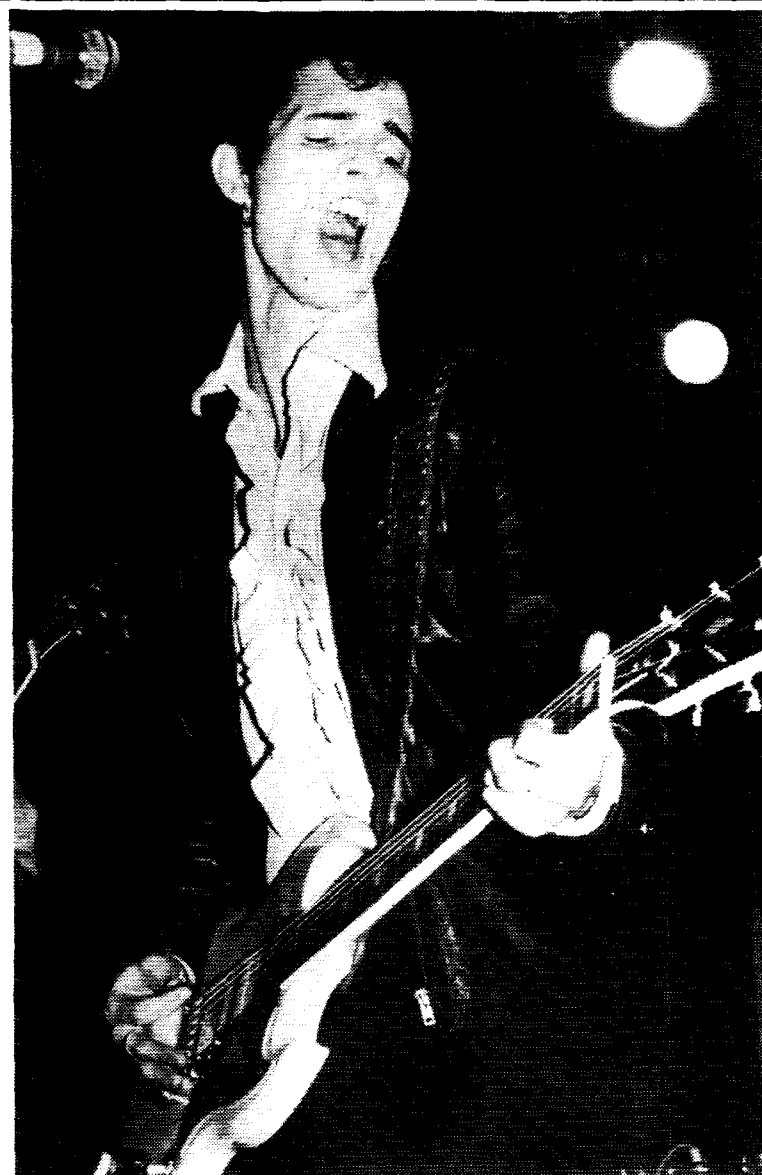
Jerry Jeff Walker
MCA Records

While the outlaw trend in country music is beginning to run the course that hype invariably do, Jerry Jeff Walker keeps carrying on. Since his first album, a minor underground classic, Jerry Jeff has consistently put out quality music.

The new album is a double one—mostly recorded in concert. Unfortunately engineering has obliterated most of the "liveness" of the music. The only exception is the fantastic side recorded in Houston and New Orleans, which contains a "Sea Cruise"/"Johnny B. Goode"/"Peggy Sue" medley, and classic renditions of Guy Clark's "L.A. Freeway," "Mr. Bojangles" and "Up Against the Wall, Redneck."

Most of the recordings were done in Luckenbach, Tex., and it is appropriate that the album is dedicated to Hondo Crouch, the "Sunday Mayor of Luckenbach," who recently died. A local poet reads three poems, and Crouch muses on the "big, mean moon of Luckenbach." Jerry Jeff tops the side off with a version of "My Buddy."

The rest of the album contains some numbers which surely will become Walker classics. My own favorites are "Don't It Make You Wanna Dance" and "Honky Tonk Music." The first fea-



Willie DeVille of Mink of the same name.

tures some very nice instrumentation by the Lost Gonzo Band, and "Honky Tonk Music" (which really is not honky tonk) provides the key to why Jerry Jeff keeps on carrying on:

*Every night I play the pieces
Neon lights and smilin' faces*

*Ask myself why do I do it?
Guess there must be somethin'
to it*

*Gettin' paid for doin' some-
thin' I'd be doin' anyway*

While Walker's performance has disconcerting tinges of weariness and cynicism, this album will not disappoint long-time fans and is an ideal introduction for those who haven't picked up on his singing yet.

—Steven Rosswurm

JAZZ

FLOWERS FOR ALBERT

David Murray
India Navigation (IN 1026)

LOW CLASS CONSPIRACY

David Murray
Adelphi (AD 5002)

David Murray of Berkeley, Calif., is, at age 22, already an important new voice on tenor saxophone.

Like so many black musicians, Murray's formative influences come from the music of the sanctified church and rhythm and blues. The music he currently composes and plays, which might be called "free jazz," is in the tradition of such tenor saxophone giants as the late Albert Ayler. It is to Ayler that he dedicated the album, *Flowers for Albert*.

Murray's forte is improvisation. To those unfamiliar with his style the music might at first seem "abrasive" or "aimless." But such a reaction is primarily due to the way we have been programmed to relate to music in capitalist society. We are taught to de-eroticize our bodies and our senses so that we can work

on the assembly line or in the typing pool. Music is not to be felt, but is to be consumed as a product. Even dancing has become programmed and automatic—witness the recent rise of disco dancing.

In contrast to the style of such "lowest common denominator" music, Murray's music taps into the life force. He will often use a melody as a jumping off point to explore not only the melodic implications of a piece, but also the connections between that melody and the realm of pure sound.

Yes, we can even dance to Murray's music, but in a way that has no preconceived steps or form. The music demands that we experience it fully and give ourselves up to its exhilaration.

We must begin to look to our boldest and most gifted artists as being in the forefront of the struggle for human liberation. Musicians, like Murray, offer up their selves and their collective spirit in spontaneous improvisation. If we choose to hear it as chaotic and tune it out, we are not responding to its freedom but to its unfamiliarity. But if we begin to see such music as a positive signpost on the road ahead, then its political implications are realized. It truly becomes, as Murray puts it, a "low class conspiracy."

Both of these records are excellent. *Flowers* seems more accessible, but *Conspiracy* is better produced. The other artists on *Flowers* are among those Murray currently plays with in New York City and are the cream of the "avant garde" crop: Phillip Wilson (drums), Olu Dara (trumpet) and Fred Hopkins (bass). *Low Class Conspiracy* is a trio album with Wilson and Hopkins. Both records are available from: *New Music Distribution Service*, 6 West 95th Street, New York, NY 10025.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky teaches jazz/blues at Sangamon State University and reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

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FILM

Do low budget films have to be lousy?

Drive-ins are big business, especially in climates where they can operate all year long. They have become the training ground for young filmmakers who must work on small budgets and limited time schedules.

The normal drive-in feature is either a series of harrowing chase sequences, a horror film, or soft or hard core sex. There are also occasional left-overs; higher-priced productions that didn't sell on their first runs (like *Twilight's Last Gleaming*, which had a last gasp on the *al fresco* circuit) or productions that are being run through the last commercial wringer before being sold to TV (like *Taxi Driver*.)

Now and then a film made for the drive-in market graduates to exhibition in what are called "hard tops." (*The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* is an example.) Actually there is no reason why low-budget, action films can't be vital and interesting enough to show anywhere, but as things are now they are usually inferior in every respect.

Black Oak Conspiracy is typical of the genre. The film stars Jesse Vint, who also wrote it and produced it—an effort that bears superficial resemblance to Sylvester Stallone's. (Both men toughed it out alone to keep control of a script in which they believed. Unfortunately for Vint, the parallel ends there.)

The plot of *Black Oak Conspiracy* consists of elements used in film melodramas since the form came into being. The hero, in this case a stunt man, returns to his home town, uncovers a plot by evil mine owners to steal his old mother's home, sets about to foil the villains, falls for a sexy local lady, fights with his fists and some shooting irons, drives cars like crazy, and finally leaves town with the lady whose heart he has won by his good looks, loyal heart and derring-do.

The acting is ineffective. The dialogue is cliché-ridden. The editing and camera work do not improve things. And none of this can be laid to the door of a low budget. *Harlan County U.S.A.*



Black Oak's Karen Carlson was made on a low budget too.

The trouble is that what's left of the film industry in Hollywood does not trust new ideas or unorthodox politics. It prefers to go on producing films that are "easy to market" because they are laced with cheap thrills and gratuitous violence, guaranteed to evoke visceral participation. And if *Black Oak Conspiracy* isn't enough to prove that generalization, I offer a few more examples, all seen at drive-ins within the last two weeks: *Meatcleaver Massacre*, *Tender Flesh*, *Nashville Woman* and *The Farmer*.

And north of the Mason-Dixon Line the drive-in season is just starting.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.



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—Barry Commoner
author, *The Poverty of Power*

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BOOKS

Sexual rebellion is not the revolution

Non-fiction with commentaries of three days and nights in the sexual underground.

THE SEXUAL OUTLAW

By John Rechy
Grove Press, \$8.95

The Sexual Outlaw is an autobiographical treatment of gay life in Los Angeles by John Rechy, author of *City of Night*, a bold book, sensitive and infused with well-grounded rage.

Billed as a "non-fiction, with commentaries, of three days and nights in the sexual underground" the book is a collage. There are vivid descriptions of dozens of sexual encounters by a promiscuous male hustler and selections of newspaper accounts, court records and short essays that document continual brutalization of gays by the forces of law and order. The juxtaposition of outrageous assaults on gays with official reports of the escalating statistics on serious crime make the point about the effect of this kind of law enforcement.

Rechy is at his most perceptive when he examines the motivations behind these tactics, both personal (on the part of police officers with some doubts of their own masculinity) and departmental (the use of such attacks on gays to swell arrest figures). He is also aware of the symbiosis between police oppres-

sion and the subcult of sado-masochism in one segment of the gay world, arguing that gays who dress in police leathers and carry regulation handcuffs represent a turning inward of the guilt and self-hate that is the negative side of gay life.

Less perceptive is his analysis—or failure to analyze—his experience in the context of the oppressive society. By his own account, his sexual relationships, including prostitution, are governed by a complex of manipulations and power trips, with cash as the final arbiter. Not unlike heterosexual relations, and not surprising given the society in which these things occur!

One wonders at Rechy's claim that gay street life is the battleground of the sexual revolution. There is certainly rebellion in the massive affront to traditional mores. But for a revolution, even a sexual one, seeds of more humanistic alternatives must be present.

On this equation of rebelliousness with revolution—reminiscent of the more puerile proclamations of counterculturists of the '60s—Rechy's book and his argument flounders. There is a place for gay liberation in the mosaic of human liberation. But it should not spring from patterns shaped by the capitalist war of all against all.

—Stephen J. Richard

Stephen J. Richard is a writer/graduate student in Los Angeles.

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FILM

Scorsese scores low with film about films

NEW YORK, NEW YORK
Directed by Martin Scorsese
Starring Robert DeNiro and Liza Minnelli
Screenplay by Paul Mazursky and Mardik Martin

Martin Scorsese's *New York, New York* opened with the kind of hoopla the big Apple hasn't seen for years. The director of *Mean Streets*, *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, and *Taxi Driver*, the 34-year-old prodigy of the NYU film school had made it—all the way from New York's little Italy to Hollywood, USA.

New York, New York is a mythic recreation of the city through the music of the late '40s and early '50s. It is a film about a genre that has fallen on bad times. It is a film that tries with only partial success to recycle old clichés for a contemporary audience. It is a big film, arresting in its energy, disappointing in what it says.

Like *Taxi Driver*, Scorsese's latest work opens on a grand scale. His vision of V-J Day and the Biltmore Hotel ballroom, recreated from newspaper footage and the set pieces of contemporary movies is panoramic. Figures pulsate to the throbs of Big Band sound, their dimensions magnified, blurred into animated and dehumanized masses, in the tickertape and jitterbugging rituals,

A recreation of the city through '40s musicals, arresting in its energy, disappointing in what it says.

Scorsese catches the frenzy of a collective orgy.

The visual texture of the '40s is created through objects photographed like museum pieces in close-up; shoes; a sax, glistening in the first moments of a euphoric high; refuse trampled and abandoned in gutters; pompadours and shoulder pads. Scorsese makes them bigger than life, symbols of an era.

Boy sax player Robert DeNiro meets girl singer, Liza Minnelli. Their marriage and divorce take place against the background of the Big Band era. The competition that develops between them and Minnelli's growing success drive them apart. As in most of Scorsese's films, the story line is weak, the plot an excuse for his visual fantasies. Indeed, the last half hour is a string of produc-

tion numbers devoid of connecting narrative.

Few of Scorsese's films are completely scripted. He relies on improvisation to evoke the patterns of everyday speech and a sense of raw authenticity. But the musicals of the '40s were famed for their quick repartee and witty one-liners. The improvised dialogue in *New York, New York* falls flat. Its endless repetitions are boring rather than clever, the comic devices silly rather than sophisticated.

The film's greatest disappointment is its characters. Liza Minnelli, as Francine, the big band singer and Judy Garland look-alike, does her best to breathe life into a role that remains a composite of its originals. Robert DeNiro as Jimmy Doyle merely repeats his mannerisms as Johnny Boy in *Mean Streets* and Travis Bickle in *Taxi Driver*. Part-clown, part-crazy, he defies credibility both as a jazz artist and as a man torn by his love for a woman and his fear of her as his competitor.

Like virtually all of Scorsese's autobiographical characters, Jimmy is a bull in a china shop, his attitude that of a punk kid of the '50s seething with inchoate rage. Mistrustful of the order and respectability associated with a middle-class lifestyle, he flails irrationally at its symbols.



Liza Minnelli looking like her mother in *New York, New York*.

The most potent of these symbols—woman—becomes the butt of Scorsese's fusion of violence and machismo. In the film's most gripping scene Francine and Jimmy come to blows. Physically confined (not only are they married, but Francine is seven months pregnant), Jimmy's anger must be purged by violence.

The arresting quality of *Mean Streets* and *Taxi Driver* comes from the fusion of myth and the nervous energy of the New York streets. With *New York, New York* Scorsese is dealing with the simulated experience of charac-

ters whose originals existed only in film. It is a movie about other movies, true only to life as distilled on the screen. There are no mean streets, only Hollywood sets. The film abounds in cinematic references intended for insiders and film buffs only. But the larger question—what relationship a film made today bears not only to the film myths of the past but to real life then and now—is never asked.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

All-Star(Wars) escape extravaganza

STAR WARS
Written and Directed by George Lucas
Production designed by John Berry
Director of Photography, Gilbert Taylor
Distributed by 20th-century Century Fox, rated PG

Star Wars, which opened in 43 key cities a little over a month ago, is racing to break all attendance records. If the decided level of audience enjoyment were measured, *Star Wars* would break those records as well. It has become a national event. Twentieth Century-Fox shares have lifted skyward on the stock market. Everybody's happy.

Star Wars is George Lucas' first picture since his very successful *American Graffiti* and his second sci-fi pic. It's a very grown-up little boy's space fantasy, a romantic tale told by an adult boy with his tongue in his cheek. Unlike Stanley Kubrick's *2001*, *Star Wars* is not a parable or a morality tale; nor is terror central to the theme. You are clearly meant to have a great time and not take it all too seriously.

Time takes on an elastic quality as a rolling title tells us that this is a story of a long ago time and place (the year 2728), after the galactic wars had ceased and the 'dark' times had come to a far off galaxy. Suddenly, we are streaking through space in the Starship of the Princess Leia Organa (Carrie Fisher), read the homecoming queen of Lemon Grove, California. She is on her way back to her home planet of Alderaan, carrying the secret plans of the Death Star, which



Chew Bacca, the seven-foot Wookiee co-pilot, is the most engaging creature since the Cowardly Lion, whom he vaguely resembles.

is the GHQ of the oppressing Imperial Forces of the Galaxy.

On the spaceship with the Princess are the scene-stealing stars of the show, a pair of robots named C3PO and R2-D2. C3PO looks like the Tin Woodsman of *The Wizard of Oz* except that he's golden and speaks with a British accent. Fussy and consumed with anxiety (programmed for protocol), he moves gracefully and expressively so that we identify with him very quickly. C3PO's companion, R2-D2, looks like an oversized commercial vacuum cleaner and speaks in squeaks, whistles and bleeps. He spins his top and flashes lights when his circuitry gets overheated and manages to communicate understandably in an inverted electronic language. The pair are the best comic team to come along since Laurel and Hardy or Abbott and Costello; they partake a bit of both.

C3PO and R2-D2 are machines only in the sense that they are made of metal and wiring instead of flesh, bones and blood. (Will computers eventually think and feel?) They move very independently in a landscape littered with remnants of ancient science fiction artifacts, rusting rockets, robots, skeletons of strange monsters. George Lucas is saying to us, "See, you have been here before, but wait!—I have wonderful things in store for you!" And with each innovation he unveils, the audience shrieks with delight. The more imaginative, the farther out, the greater the fun. There is a scene in an intergalactic bar where an incredible assortment of mutants (mixing animal, human and technical forms) is gathered from all over the Universe. It's a racy, dangerous place. The audience loves it and there is something ineffably satisfying in being part of an au-

dience given over to "the willing suspension of disbelief" and the positive commitment to enjoyment.

The film's flesh and blood adventurers are Luke Skywalker (Mark Hamill) a pure innocent youth (read farm boy), Han Solo (Harrison Ford) who is a freelance pilot in it all for the money (read itinerant cowpunch); and Ben (Obi-wan) Kenobi, played by Alec Guinness as a cross between Michaelangelo's Father God straight off the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and a Zen mystic straight off his mountain. Ben is possessed of the *force* which he passes on to Luke in due time, but not before he has duelled with the forces of evil using laser beam swords and other up-to-the-future hardware, and has himself moved over into another mode of existence.

Obi-Wan, Luke and Han Solo sally forth to do battle against the

oppressors, like Knights of the Round Table, to liberate the Princess and remove the threat of the Death Star from the Universe, Han Solo is accompanied by one of the most engaging creatures since the Cowardly Lion, whom he vaguely resembles. He is a seven-foot Wookiee named Chew Bacca, a cross between Baum's lion and a bashful creature from the Planet of the Apes.

The "bad guys" are an undifferentiated set of military men (except for the Black Knight out of Tolkien). However they wield enough technical-type menace to keep us in suspense, not so much over what will become of the good guys as what will be the next miraculous effect?

It is the magic show special effects aspect that delights the audience most. When our starship goes through the galactic time-space barrier with a great sucking whoosh and the stars converge into a black hole, the entire theater goes ooooooh! At the end of the film there are more than two minutes' worth of technical credits for sound, animation, production design, costuming, etc. These folks are the ultimate stars of *Star Wars*; their achievement: two hours and three minutes of entertainment without sex or gore.

Post scriptural reservation: the WWII dogfight and strafing runs at the end of the picture are the only moments when George Lucas seemed to run thin on imagination. But why carp?

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is the regular film reviewer of *In These Times*.

Future fair?

By Preston Gralla
AMHERST, MASS.—For three days the campus of the University of Massachusetts here became a country fair of the future.

Perhaps a dozen windmills loomed skyward, slowly turning above the crowds. Solar panels for heating hot water and homes sat baking in the sun and soaking in the rain. An electric car made tours of the grounds, while a wind-powered prototype car sat idle. There were even waterless toilets that turned waste into compost. For do-it-yourselfers there were plans for building a \$50 windowsill solar collector.

Mixed in with the hardware on the fairgrounds were dozens of activist groups promoting their visions of the future. Throughout were musicians, jugglers and puppeteers.

The occasion was the "Towards Tomorrow Fair," June 24-26. Participants ranged from the famous—Buckminster Fuller, Ralph Nader, Julian Bond, Barry Commoner—to backyard inventors, environmentalists, social activists, a handful of government officials and citizens interested in their future. In some 400 panels, speakers and presentations participants tried to figure a way to solve today's problems and anticipate the future in energy use, health care, education, agriculture and consumerism.

Lost knowledge recovered.

"Much of what is being exhibited has a lot of lost knowledge recovered in it," Ralph Nader told a crowd of over 4,000. "What you see out there on the grounds is an inheritance from that lost knowledge that we have let the large energy corporations shelve."

The mixture of regained lost knowledge and new directions melded throughout the weekend. There were a surprising number of wood stoves exhibited on the fair grounds, for instance; an indication of how many New Englanders, with the highest energy costs in the country and abundant forests, are turning back to their original source of heat—wood.

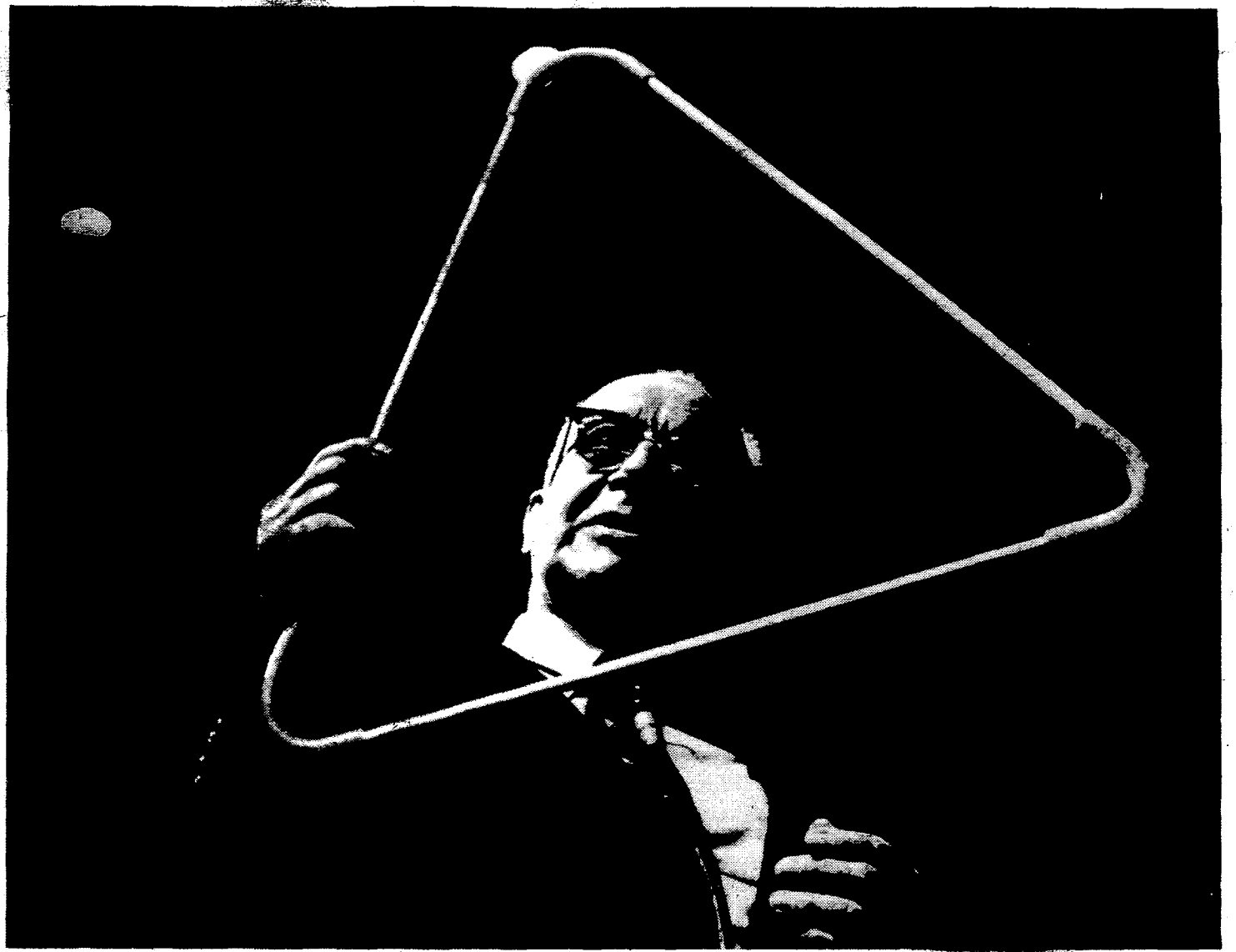
Energy and related issues dominated most of the workshops in recognition that our industrial society is built on energy, and that whoever controls energy controls the future. Speaker after speaker stressed that the roots of our energy problems are traceable to the fact that large energy corporations make decisions based on profit rather than on human needs. Large scale capital-intensive projects, like nuclear power plants, were seen as inevitable results of the profit motive. Numerous workshops took place on ways to decentralize energy production.

For Buckminster Fuller, however, the way to the future was through technology. In a three-hour stream of consciousness talk Fuller said, "Politics is only the tail of the dragon. Technology will bring about the new social state." Fuller believes that in 10 years all of humanity can be brought to a high standard of living.

But Murray Bookchin, author and director of Goddard College's Institute of Social Ecology, appeared to express a more dominant view: "The technology itself out on the grounds is not important. The end to which it is used is important. The machine itself will not produce a society in which we can live in harmony with nature. An ecological society implies above all that there be no rulers and no ruled, without the obedience demanded by an all-powerful state or corporation."

Industrializing space.

One speaker, however, remained steadfast in his belief that continued growth and profit would solve our problems. Jesco von Puttkamer, Program Manager for Space Industrialization for NASA, presented NASA's blueprint for "the industrial and commercial exploitation of space."



Top: R. Buckminster Fuller with his key to the future. Bottom: Sun Wind Ltd.'s replacement for Mercedes 350SL.

Photos by Lionel Delevingne

Puttkamer brought a traveling sideshow to the fair, complete with film strips, slides, clips from Star Trek and a stock of pre-programmed jokes.

The space shuttle, Puttkamer revealed, is conceived as the first step to the "industrialization of space," which he proudly told the audience, will be a "multi-billion dollar industry with profits for those industries that invest in it."

NASA and Puttkamer see outer space as a site for heavy industry, and giant space colonies, subsidized with taxpayers' money, but bringing in profits for large corporations. Lest the audience feel that NASA had forgotten them, Puttkamer detailed some of the benefits for the common person. At the top of his list for those of us who remain on earth: Dick

It is easier to talk about the future than to build it. Exhibits at the fair, especially windmills and solar panels, remain a luxury as long as government policy remains committed to nuclear power and other oil company priorities.

Tracy radio wrist watches and the use of satellites to transmit mail.

Perhaps Hazel Henderson, co-director of the Princeton Center for Alternative Futures, had him in mind when she said that we have been turned into "industrial peasants, supplicants to large economic institutions." Her vision of the future, on the other hand, included more land trusts, coops and worker management and ownership of factories.

Snake oil salesmen.

Every fair has its snake oil salesmen, and a poor screening process let some in to this one. One booth was run by four or five people wearing golden pyramids on their heads, which they assured onlookers would allow one to attain "positive experience" and "higher consciousness" and could revitalize lemon juice and add flavor to frozen vegetables. There were a few basic types of pyramids for purchase. The most powerful, of course, was also the most expensive, and was plated with two layers of 24 carat gold.

The fair coincided one day, ironically, with a pro-nuclear rally in New Hampshire sponsored and paid for by utilities constructing nuclear power plants.

The threat of nuclear power was never far from people's minds at the fair. Seabrook, N.H., isn't far and less than 15 miles north is Montague, Mass., site of one of the largest nuclear power plants ever to be proposed.

Barry Commoner gave a detailed an-

alysis of Carter's energy plan, which in Commoner's view isn't very different from the one Ford proposed.

Commoner noted that Carter's plan will increase reliance on nuclear power to the point where it supplies 23 percent of all power, while it only asks solar energy to contribute one percent of the energy total.

The plan, Commoner says, will actually block the development of a solar alternative. Carter's taxes will be "laying the stupidity of the administration on the backs of the poor."

Commoner also described the inherent conflict between development of nuclear power and the maintenance of a democratic society. If Carter's plan passes, he warned, "We will be creating the energy base for fascism in the United States."

As many people became aware at the fair, it is easier to talk about the future than to build it. Exhibits at the fair, especially windmills and solar panels, remain a middle and upper class luxury. They will save money in the long run, and renewable energy sources are clearly the way to build a cleaner future with more jobs. The problem remains of how to spread the technology while the federal government and energy corporations are so intent on seeing them limited.

As Julian Bond said, "We have a vision of what the United States should be, but we cannot point to a working system."

Preston Gralla is a freelance writer in Massachusetts.